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A CELEBRATION OF FAITH

300 YEARS IN THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL'S

A BRIEF HISTORY
OF ST. PAUL'S PARISH
EDENTON · NORTH CAROLINA

ANNE ROUSE EDWARDS

in consultation with
ELIZABETH VANN MOORE

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A CELEBRATION OF FAITH

300 YEARS IN THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL'S

ANNE ROUSE EDWARDS
in consultation with
ELIZABETH VANN MOORE

SWEET BAY TREE BOOKS
for St. Paul's Episcopal Church
2003

for
my father FRANK WILTON EDWARDS (1913–2000)
and *my aunt* LUCILE EDWARDS (1907–92)

A CELEBRATION OF FAITH:
300 YEARS IN THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL'S
A Brief History of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N.C.
by Anne Rouse Edwards in consultation with Elizabeth Vann Moore

published by Sweet Bay Tree Books for St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 2003

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of St. Paul's parish.

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JONES

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PREFACE

In November, 2001, a series of articles began in the Chowan Herald *to mark the 300th anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's parish. The purpose of the series was to tell the story of the people of the parish and provide information about the building that has long stood in Edenton at the corner of Church and Broad Streets, St. Paul's Episcopal Church. These articles have led in turn to this book.*

The history of the parish is essentially the story of the founding of Edenton and Chowan County, and of the people who have lived there over a period of more than three centuries. St. Paul's parish grew out of a vast territory that was given in 1663 to eight men as a reward for loyal services to their king. These "Lords Proprietors," as they were called, were British noblemen with little understanding of, or appreciation for, the people living in the lands granted to them. Their objective was principally financial: to collect quitrents from lands they in turn conveyed to the people who settled in the region. The Lords Proprietors were remote and, ultimately, unsuccessful managers who failed to establish effective means for governing the settlers who had established homes within the proprietary "plantations," and experimented with a succession of different forms of colonial management, all largely ignored by the people. A number of the royal governors sent out by the Lords were corrupt. Eventually, all but one of the Lords Proprietors gave up on the new world and sold all interests in the colonies back to the Crown.

Not the remote Lords, therefore, but the settlers themselves ultimately established a means of government that could foster the vital development of community, commerce, and church, and they endured many hardships to do this. Few of us today can imagine the experience of living in this region during the early years of the parish. Limited supplies, miserable roads, little hygiene, the Indian threat, and much disease made life challenging. Despite impediments, however, so many people of what became Edenton and Chowan possessed extraordinary courage, determination, and faith. You will read about them in the pages that follow.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ELIZABETH VANN MOORE's work in documenting the history and architecture of important structures in Edenton has earned her the respect and admiration of scholars, genealogists, and individuals throughout North Carolina. She has served as a member of the Edenton Historical Commission, the Cupola House Association, Historic Edenton, the Chowan County Courthouse Research Committee, the NC Literary and Historical Association, the NC Federation of Historical Societies, the Carolina Tercentenary Committee, and America's 400th Anniversary Committee. She has also received the Lifetime Service award of the Edenton Historical Commission, and the Cannon Cup—the State's most prestigious recognition of an individual for excellence in promoting the cause of historic preservation. A focus of her lifetime research continues to be St. Paul's Church, her family's place of worship for generations. It has been my great privilege to work with her. It has also been fun. Not only is she unsurpassed in knowledge and unequalled in her devotion to the proper and accurate presentation of the facts of this parish, she has a great sense of humor. To her I owe enormous and heartfelt thanks.

Much appreciation is due many other individuals who have contributed to the production of A Celebration of Faith *with gifts of their time and interest in the project, their support and encouragement, and photographs, letters, and publications from their family archives. Special among them are Frances Inglis; John Becker; Carol Becker; Anne Bruce; Elizabeth Jones; John Morehead; Peter Rascoe; Rosalind MacEnulty, members of the Tricentennial Committee of St. Paul's, especially Ann Perry and Hood Ellis; Rebecca Bunch and David Crawley of the Chowan Herald; Rosalie Miller and the staff of the Shepard Pruden Memorial Library; and Warner Perry and Earl Willis, who appear to be the only ones among us who can crack the church safe.*

Last, and certainly not least, the fact that we now have this little book in our hands must be attributed to the efforts of my publisher, Fiona King Finch of Sweet Bay Tree Books, who must take credit for making A Celebration of Faith *a reality. She has read, again and again, my text with understanding and a unique perspective, and has made valuable suggestions throughout.*

Anne Rouse Edwards,
Edenton · 2003

A CELEBRATION OF FAITH

PHOTO: GRAY THORPE DIXON

"Albemarle River" from Ogilby map, c. 1672

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THE PARISH IS ESTABLISHED

In 1663 King Charles II issued a charter granting the region that ultimately became North and South Carolina to eight Lords Proprietors, in return for their help in restoring him to the throne of England. The area that became northeastern North Carolina was among the three "counties" created by the Lords. Named "Albemarle" in honor of George Monck, the first Duke of Albemarle—one of the eight Lords Proprietors—the county embraced "all that parte of the province which lyeth on the north east or starboard side entring of the river Chowan ... together with the Islands and Isletts within ten leages thereof."

1663 · Albemarle County is created.

Among the motives cited for issuing the charter was "a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith." In 1665 a second proprietary charter followed. Both charters made express provision for building and endowing churches and chapels throughout the new territory, in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of England.

By 1669, however, there was no clergyman of any sort in the Albemarle, and traditional church-related functions, such as marriages, were performed by civil officers. The first Church of England missionary, Daniel Brett, did not appear in North Carolina until 1698. Sent by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (later called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "the SPG"), he was deemed "not a man of high qualities." Described by colonial governor Henderson Walker as "ye Monster of ye Age," Mr. Brett disappeared after six months. At the turn of the century the colony had at least 5,000 white settlers, in addition to blacks and native Americans, all "without priest or altar."

1698 · The first Church of England missionary comes to the colony.

1701 · *The first vestry meets at the home of Thomas Gilliam.*

Not until 1701 was definitive action taken to create a legitimate means for building churches and maintaining ministers. Parishes were created, including St. Paul's. And it was within St. Paul's parish that the first church of the new colony was established.

Profound Purpose

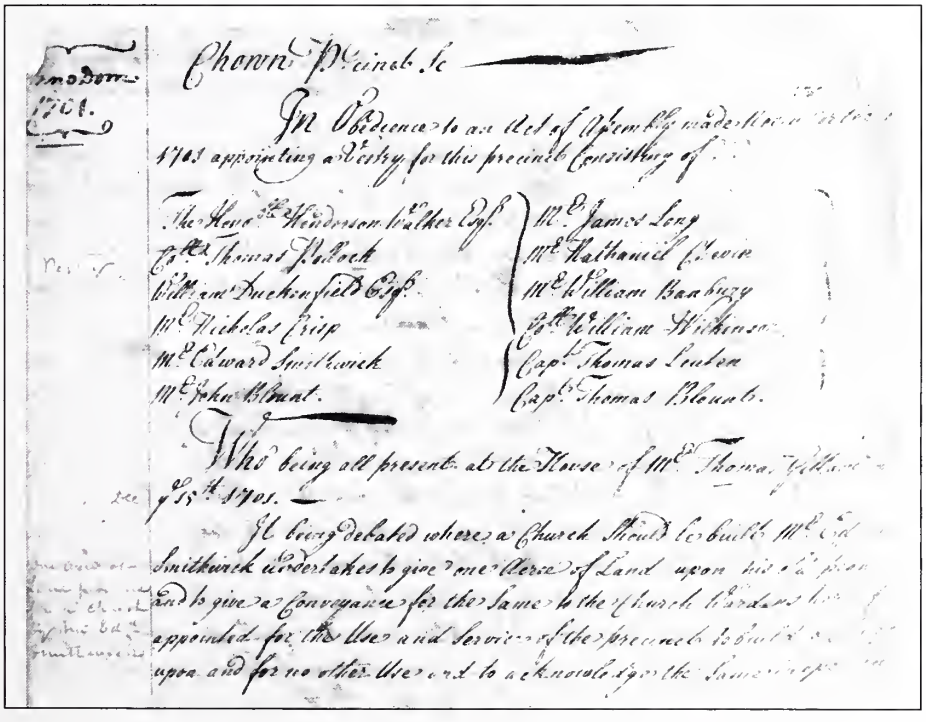
The story begins in the winter of 1701. Less than two weeks before Christmas Day, twelve men gathered at the home of Thomas Gilliam, a planter who lived somewhere within the bounds of the property known today as Hayes, just across the present-day Queen Anne's Creek from Edenton's Water Street.

The men gathered at Thomas Gilliam's with profound purpose. Just one month earlier, on November 12, the colonial Assembly had passed an Act to establish "Chowan parish" (originally known as "North East parish"and soon to become "St Paul's parish"). The Assembly was sometimes referred to as the House of Burgesses or "the Lower House"—"lower," that is, than the provincial Council, which was appointed by and created to advise the Proprietors' governor. The Assembly was composed of landowners elected to serve essentially as the colonial legislature. The twelve men who met on December 12, 1701, had been appointed by that Assembly to serve as vestrymen of the new parish.

The men who gathered for the first vestry meeting were the Honorable Henderson Walker, "a zealous churchman who by sheer ability rose to the highest office of the colony," to quote an anonymous nineteenth-century writer; Colonel Thomas Pollock, who became president of the Council and governor *ex officio* of the colony; Nathaniel Chevin, Council member and a justice of the General Court; William Duckinfield, John Blount, and Nicholas Crisp—also justices of the General Court (Crisp and Blount were at the time, or soon to become, members of the colonial Assembly); Colonel William Wilkinson, attorney and speaker of the Assembly; William Benbury, later a constable of the Albemarle; Captain Thomas Luten, deputy surveyor for Chowan Precinct; Edward Smithwick, a planter owning property in

the vicinity of Thomas Gilliam's farm at Hayes, who was also a member of the Assembly; Captain Thomas Blount; and James Long.

These men came to assume their responsibilities for the management of the new parish, only one of which was to determine where a church should be built. These early vestrymen were, in effect, the county commissioners of their day. They were appointed at a time when, as in all the colonies, the functions of Church and State were essentially inter-related.



Chawn P. Reinb. &c

In Obedience to an Act of Assembly made [illegible]
1701 appointing a Vestry for this precinct Consisting of

The Honble Henderson Walker Esqr
Coll. Thomas Pollock
William Duckenfield Esqr
Mr. Nicholas Crisp
Mr. Edward Smithwick
Mr. John Blount.

Mr. James Long
Mr. Nathaniel Lewis
Mr. William Banbury
Coll. William Williamson
Capt. Thomas Loulon
Capt. Thomas Blount.

Who being all present at the House of Mr. Thomas Williamson
y 25th 1701.

It being debated where a Church Should be Built Mr. Edd
Smithwick undertakes to give one Acre of Land upon his Plan
and to give a Conveyance for the Same to the Church Wardens
appointed for the Use and Service of the precinct to Build
upon and for no other Use and to acknowledge the Same

Extract from the minutes of the first vestry meeting

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

The Duties of the Vestry

Duties are established for members of the vestry.

The first vestrymen of St. Paul's, and those who followed them until the disestablishment of the Church in the late eighteenth century, administered programs that we typically associate with the services of county government. Their function was of a civic nature, and it differed entirely from the ecclesiastical nature of the duties performed by vestrymen of the post-Revolutionary period.

Vestrymen were chosen from all parts of the parish by tax-payers in an election run by the sheriff. They took the same oath of office as did other public officials. Although the November 12 Act of the Assembly made the Church of England the established church of North Carolina, no vestryman was required to be part of the Anglican communion. Each, however, had to be able to take the oath of office in the colony.

Among many other tasks, vestrymen provided road maintenance, determined and levied taxes, provided the standard for weights and measures, oversaw maintenance of property boundaries, and settled boundary disputes. They took care of orphaned children and apprentices. They provided a school and schoolmaster, the necessities of life for paupers, medical care for the poor, and funeral costs for traveling strangers who died in the parish. They paid a bounty for the heads of animals that preyed on people, livestock, or crops. ("Vermin,"as these animals were called, might be anything from squirrels to wolves and wildcats.) Vestrymen had the power to impose fines and other penalties "for Sabbath breaking and profane swearing." In addition, they paid a pittance to lay readers (between five and ten cents a Sunday for services rendered), and set and dispensed the salaries paid to the clergymen of the SPG.

Messrs. Wilkinson and Luten were appointed wardens of the church, and Mr. Chevin clerk of the vestry. The creation of St. Paul's parish, Chowan precinct, had begun.

THE FIRST CHURCH BUILDING

1701 · *The decision is made to erect a church building.*

THE VESTRYMEN OF ST. PAUL'S wasted no time in planning the erection of a church building. The *Colonial Records* report the business conducted at the initial meeting of the vestry on December 12: "...it being debated where a church should be built, Mr. Edward Smithwick undertakes to give an acre of land upon his old plantation, and to give a conveyance for same to the Church Wardens hereafter appointed for

the use and service of the precinct, to build a church upon, and for no other use, to acknowledge the same in open court."

December 12, 1701 · Edward Smithwick donates land for the first church.

The specific location of the property that Edward Smithwick gave to the parish church wardens on December 12, 1701, is unknown. The deed, recorded in April, 1702, acknowledges Mr. Smithwick's gift of "Seventy yards square of land" (a small part of the 380-acre land grant conveyed to Mr. Smithwick in 1694) "for to build and erect a Church." But the deed, like many of its day, fails to provide sufficient information to locate precisely the plot that he wished to convey. The deed states simply, "...said land to be on the road or the Highway from Thos. Gylliams in the woods joining on the old field of the s'd Mr. Edw'd Smithwick."

By 1700 a number of large plantations had sprung up along the road that continues to run through the present Hayes, from Edenton Bay to Sandy Point at Albemarle Sound and on to the Yeopim River. In fact, a number of the first vestrymen are said to have lived along the "Yoppim" road or contiguous to it: Mr. Walker at Skinner's Point, Mr. Wilkinson at Sandy Point, Mr. Luten nearby at the original site of the house now called Mount Auburn, Mr. Blount at Mulberry Hill, Mr. Benbury at Benbury Hall (the farm was later called Athol), Mr. Crisp at Strawberry Hill, and Mr. Gilliam and Mr. Smithwick at Hayes. Popular local tradition favors the notion that Mr. Smithwick's donated land is near the intersection of this Yeopim road and Cherry's Point Road. Nothing can be proved, however, because no trace of the fragile original church building has been found.

The building, twenty-five feet long, was little more than a roof on posts, surrounded by some form of walls, in the middle of Mr. Smithwick's plot. The windows were without glass and the "floor" was packed earth. At first there was neither pulpit for the minister nor pew for the reader or clerk.

The cost of the crude structure was to be no more than twenty-five pounds, to "be levied by the pole [poll] upon the Tythables of the Precinct, the Church Wardens first endeavouring to raise the said money by contribution." (The *Colonial Records* cite 283 "tythables" in

October, 1702.) A "Collector," to be appointed to receive the contributions, had "power to destrain in case of Refusal."

1702 · A *modest structure is built by John Porter.*

Construction of the church was committed to John Porter, considered by some an astute businessman and by others a questionable character, who presented the most favorable bid for construction of the building. As work proceeded, members of the vestry expressed their dislike of the ceiling of the new structure, "by reason of the Boards being defaced." Mr. Porter therefore promised "to provide as much Lime as will wash the ceiling of the Chapel and the Vestry to be at the charge of a workman to do the same." On December 15, 1702, having completed the building to the satisfaction of the vestry, Mr. Porter delivered the key to the vestrymen, almost a year to the day after their first meeting.

Richard Curton is chosen as the first reader.

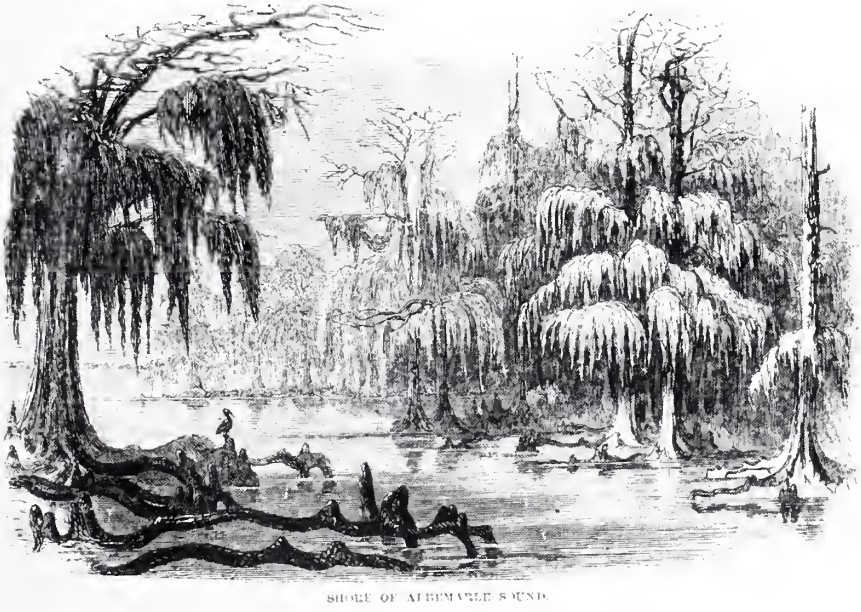
The vestry agreed to buy "at as cheap a rate as possible . . . one fair and large book of common Prayer, and the Book of Homilies." The wardens, Messrs. Luten and Wilkinson, engaged Richard Curton as "Reader," whose duties were to make the responses when the clergyman was present. "He acted also as sexton, taking charge of the building and keeping the key, providing the elements for the Holy Communion, the water for baptism, and the materials for fire." The reader was paid between seven and ten shillings per service.

The vestry minutes of 1703-4 record that efforts were made to install glass panes in the open windows of the church building. It was further ordered that the wardens "do speedily agree with a workman to make pulpit and pew for the Reader with Desk fitting for the same." Whether either project was completed is uncertain.

THE FIRST CLERGYMEN

AS THE YEAR 1703 BEGAN, therefore, there was in the Albemarle a fledgling parish with a little chapel and no clergy. Following the departure of Daniel Brett, the first recorded Anglican missionary in the area, the Reverend George Keith and the Reverend John Talbot were sent by the SPG to make "an inspection tour" of the colony.

While it is recorded that Mr. Keith preached in Currituck in May of 1703, neither he nor Mr. Talbot reached St. Paul's parish, as ". . .there was no Passage from that Place [Currituck] by Land convenient to Travel, by reason of Swamps, and Marishes; and we had no way to go by Water but in a Canow over a great Bay, many Miles over which we essayed to do, but the Wind continuing several Days contrary, we returned to Virginia."



"Shore of Albemarle Sound" by "Porte Crayon" (David H. Strother), from Harper's New Monthly Magazine, March 1857

COURTESY OF FRANCES DRANE INGLIS

January, 1703 · The Reverend John Blair attempts to make a difference.

Meanwhile, the Reverend John Blair, who was appointed missionary to the colony by the SPG, arrived in the Albemarle in January, 1703. He reported that the people had little interest in religious matters and were hardly disposed to support a minister of the Church of England. In the narrative of his experience Mr. Blair confirmed the presence of church "edifices" in three precincts of the region: Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Chowan. He noted that in each of them he placed a reader for morning and evening prayer and sermons each Sunday when he could not be present.

Officially appointed to his post in early March, 1704, John Blair

convened the vestries of all these parishes and informed them of the good intentions of the SPG. He also encouraged the procurement of glebes for each church—plots of farmland that, when cultivated, could yield revenue to the parish church. In what appears to be the first effort toward an endowment for the Church in North Carolina, Mr. Blair promised to each glebe a few slaves and some livestock. In addition, contemporary reports suggest that he gave all his salary to the poor.

1703–4 · John Blair describes the hardships of service in the Albemarle.

Mr. Blair was among the first to record the hardships and frustrations endured by early clergymen in the Albemarle. Reporting to the SPG, he wrote of the "mighty inconveniences" of travel in the area on roads as "deep and difficult to be found." His journeys required two horses, "one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his road in that country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a Desert [unpopulated] country) it's a hazard if he ever finds his Road again."

In the Wilderness

The decision-makers of the SPG, settled comfortably in their parishes in England, had no understanding of the vast scope and raw nature of the territory they had assigned to their missionaries to the Albemarle. Time and again Mr. Blair tried to explain kindly and patiently what he was up against, suggesting in virtually all of his correspondence that additional men of the Church be sent to the region.

> "I was distant from any Minister 120 miles, so that if any case of difficulty or doubt should happen, with whom should I consult? And for my traveling through the Country, I rid one day with another, Sunday only Excepted, above thirty miles per diem in the worst road that I ever saw, and have sometimes layn whole nights in the woods … I will now endeavor to show you how inefficient a single man's labor would be amongst so scattered a people."

It appears that the good John Blair was succeeded by the Reverend Henry Gerrard who, as early as September, 1705, had "decline[d] his

Intentions of Serving" in both Perquimans and Chowan Precincts, preferring to limit his attentions to Chowan. Only a few months later, in January of the following year, he had begun to lose completely the support of the vestry, who reported, "Whereas several Scandalous Reports has been Spread abroad in this Government of the Rev. Mr. Henry Gerrard of Several Debauched Practices which (if true) tends highly to the Dishonour of Almighty God and to the Scandal of the Church. It is debated whether he shall be continued." Mr. Gerrard—presumably unable to "use his Utmost Endeavours to clear himself of these black Calumnies laid to his Charge"—left at some point before the end of 1706.

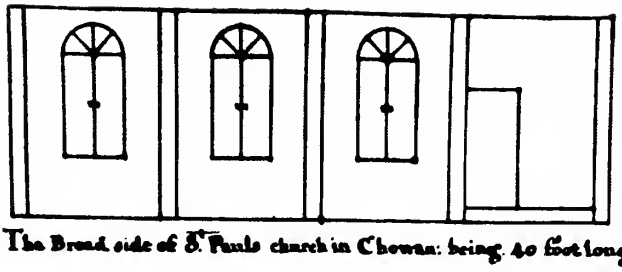
1705 · The Reverend Henry Gerrard's short period of service ends in scandal.

In 1708 the Reverend William Gordon and the Reverend James Adams arrived in the Albemarle. Mr. Gordon, who was assigned to Perquimans and Chowan precincts, reported that, "Few [in Chowan] could read, and fewer write, even of the justices of the peace and the vestrymen, yet they seemed serious and well disposed to receive instruction." He wrote that the water was brackish; the food was "salt pork, but sometimes beef; their bread of Indian corn, which they were forced for want of mills to beat, and in this they were so careless and uncleanly, that there was but little difference between the corn in the horse manger and the bread on their tables."

1708 · The Reverend William Gordon sets a "prudent and pious example."

Mr. Gordon confirmed that in Chowan "there was no money, everyone buying and paying with his own commodities..." Although described by the vestrymen of St. Paul's parish as a man "whose prudent and pious example is well worthy our Imitation," Mr. Gordon did not last long, departing the region after only three months of hard service. Mr. Adams, assigned to Pasquotank and Currituck, died in 1710.

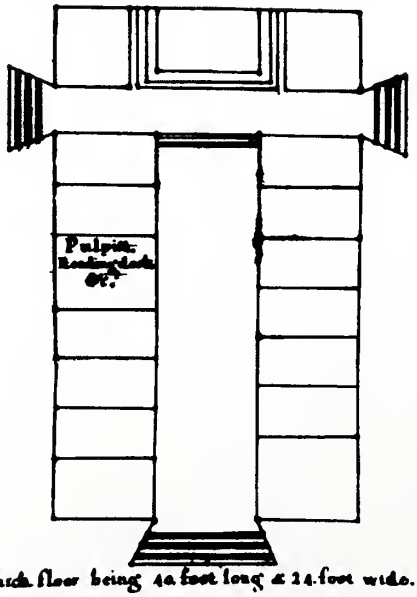
By the end of 1711, therefore, Chowan had had the benefit of two respectable clergymen—John Blair and the Reverend William Gordon, both "pious men"—but their time in the Albemarle had been short, Mr. Blair ministering to the parish for only one year, and Mr. Gordon, for less than that. Between their tenures Henry Gerrard had, presumably, been "dismissed" by the vestry, after which the parish had gone without clergy for two years.



A NUMBER OF SOURCES suggest that a second St. Paul's church was constructed in 1708 on the same site at Hayes, to replace the crude structure of 1702. Indeed, in 1910 members of "the DR" (the Daughters of the Revolution) placed a plaque on the exterior wall of the present church tower, stating that a church was built in 1708.

1708 · *The vestry decide to build a new church.*

It is true that at a meeting in July, 1708, the vestrymen unanimously agreed that a new church should be built, "a church of forty feet long, and twenty-four wide, fourteen feet from Tenent to Tenent for hight." That summer, the rector of the time, William Gordon, wrote to the SPG, apparently in vain, to request plans for a new church.



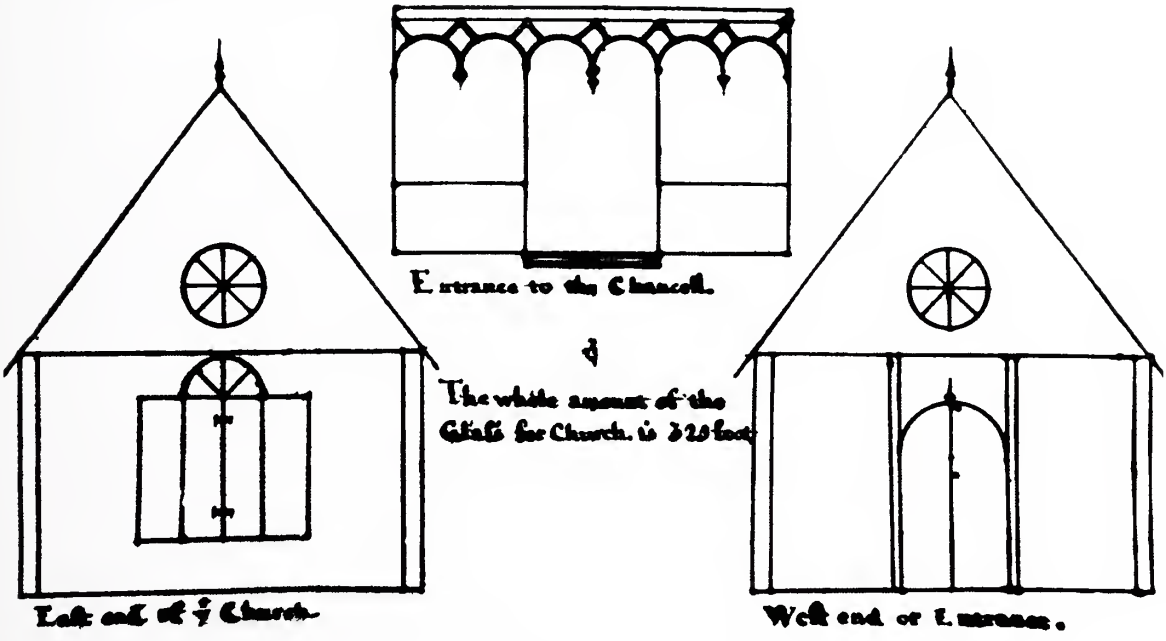
Side elevation (above) and floorplan (right) of "the church that was never built"

COURTESY OF CARL LOUNSBURY

The discovery in London of drawings of the proposed 1708 church among the eighteenth-century papers of the SPG caused much excitement.

Dr. Carl Lounsbury, architectural historian of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, calls the drawings "about the earliest extant drawings that I know of for a building in the American colonies."

The drawings present plans for a post-in-ground building "being 40 foot long & 24 foot wide," with a pulpit and reading desk about half-way down the left side of the church. Pews flank both sides of the central aisle. Large round-topped windows are shown for the exterior walls. "The whole amount of Glass for Church is 325 foot."



Gable ends and chancel of "the church that was never built"

COURTESY OF CARL LOUNSBURY

Most interesting, however, is the drawing of a chancel screen. The chancel screen, also known as the "rood screen"—an allusion to the Cross—is, as Dr. Lounsbury writes, "a legacy of the unreformed medieval church. ... considered essential at that time to separate the altar from members of the church. The idea was to inspire in those who approached the altar a sense of awe and reverence."

Dr. Lounsbury continues, "The pendants of the chancel screen, one of the last that I know of, are typical of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. I have seen a slightly more elaborate one still *in situ* in Devonshire Church, Bermuda, that probably dates to 1719."

By the late seventeenth century, chancel screens were out of fashion in England. Puritans of that period sought what Dr. Lounsbury refers to as "the auditory church—where church members sat together to hear the Word, with no need to separate the altar from the general congregation." From the chancel screen there gradually evolved the much smaller altar rail, such as we see in St. Paul's today. The inclusion of a chancel screen makes the plans for "the church that was never built" all the more remarkable, recalling a style of church building that follows the ancient tradition of church construction in rural England.

No evidence at all can be found to prove that construction of the proposed church ever began. The vestry records make no allusion to paying for a new chapel, and there are no references to the necessary construction work. It appears instead that the proposal to build anew was displaced by a continued effort to complete and improve "the Chapell which is already built."

PLACES OF WORSHIP

Rural chapels are created to serve the farming settlers.

THE CHAPEL "ALREADY BUILT" at Hayes was one of several in the area in the first years of the eighteenth century. The territory of ministry within Chowan precinct was large, stretching from what is thought to be just north of the present Virginia line and south to the present Washington and Tyrrell counties; west into Bertie county and possibly as far as today's Hertford county; then east to Perquimans and Pasquotank. Daunting tasks faced a missionary in this "wilderness" of St. Paul's parish, charged with preaching to and baptizing a diverse population, most of whom were probably illiterate. The size of the precinct called for the construction of chapels to serve the needs of settlers.

In addition to the chapel at Hayes, records also make mention of places of worship at Constants (also spelled "Costans," "Costins," and "Costens"), at Farless, at Sandy Run (or "Sandy Pine"), at Braddy's (or "Broddy's"), and at Indian Town (also called Knotty or "Notty" Pine),

later defined as "Sarum Chapel." (The word "Sarum" comes from the ancient name of the Roman fortress of "Sorviodunum" in the south of England, the town now known as Salisbury.)

Records and maps from the period give us little ability to locate exactly where the chapels were built. Letters from the early vestrymen of St. Paul's parish to the SPG typically refer to the chapels as part of a geographical quadrant, referring to the "South Shore," the "West Shore," and, in 1714, "but one Sorry Church on the North Shore of the Sound never finished, no ornaments belonging to a Church nor wherewith to buy [any]" (possibly a reference to the Hayes chapel of 1702).

Dr. Richard Dillard gives us some idea of where the Sarum Chapel could be found: "It was in all probability located at or near the 'Ballard place,' about three miles Northwest of Gatesville at the head of 'Sarum Creek.' It was three miles from Thos. Garrett's on Catherine's Creek to Thos. Boyle's Indian Town, located on their grant for 11,000 acres of land lying between Catherine Creek and Bennett's Creek, making it about five or six miles distant from the present town of Gatesville, North Carolina."

The rural chapels are served by missionaries and lay readers for some seventy years.

The rural chapels in what are now the counties surrounding Edenton were active in serving the needs of the people in their areas. In them, lay readers sought to provide Anglican services to their congregations as frequently as circumstances allowed. The parish financed the chapels until the American Revolution, and the money dispensed for their construction and maintenance was undoubtedly a drain on resources available for building a principal house of worship.

At Hayes, by mid-year 1708, the wardens were still trying "to have finished with all possible speed" the pulpit, the desk, and "what other things belong to it." A floor was also ordered at the time to be "laid with Brick, but upon further Debate of the Matter it's agreed upon that the floor shall be laid with plank as being the Cheapest and Most expeditious way of having it done." Some sources report that glass panes were, in fact, placed in the window openings; others make no mention of the installation of glass. Purchase of land for a glebe "for the better Encouragement of a Minister" was discussed, and Edward

Moseley, newly appointed to the vestry, was asked "please to treat with Mr. Frederick Jones" to buy a 500-acre tract of his plantation, considered to be"the fittest place" for that purpose. Mr. Jones had recently purchased from Edward Smithwick a large parcel of land at Hayes, which included the one-acre site of the small church of 1702.

Progress was slow. In 1709 the Reverend James Adams, missionary to the Albemarle, wrote, "They built a church [in Chowan], but it is small, very sorrily put together, and is ill looked after." In 1711, the Reverend John Urmston described the church building at Hayes as "ready to drop down," with "neither floor nor seats, only a few loose benches upon the sand," adding that " ... the key being lost the door has stood open ever since I came into the country. All the Hoggs and Cattle flee thither for shelter in the summer and warmth in the winter; they first dig holes and bury themselves, then with the rest make it a loathsome place."

The 1702 church building gradually falls into disrepair.

It is probable that this first church, given its crude construction and the fact that it was still unfinished as late as 1714, simply deteriorated. Anglican services continued in the rural chapels, and by 1718 members of St. Paul's congregated sometimes in the wooden courthouse newly constructed on the present courthouse green. The town then consisted of the courthouse, two houses, and the town wharf.

THE REVEREND JOHN URMSTON

December, 1711 · The controversial minister John Urmston arrives.

IN DECEMBER, 1711 the Reverend John Urmston (sometimes spelled Urmstone) arrived to serve the precincts of the Albemarle. He stayed for approximately ten years.

Formerly a curate of Eastham, Essex in England, Mr. Urmston had a checkered career. He has been described as "a vivid and picturesque correspondent," "possessed of a brilliant mind." This is borne out in his many letters to the SPG, which are sophisticated, amusing, and delightful to read. In March, 1714, Mr. Urmston clearly had the support of the vestry, who wrote on his behalf to the SPG, citing their appreciation

for his long stay in the colony ("long" relative to that of earlier missionaries) and commending his "great pains and unwearied Diligence." The vestrymen noted "the great Fatigues and hardships which he hath undergone."

Yet Giles Rainsford, a missionary who tried to serve the people whom Mr. Urmston allegedly could not reach, described him as "lame and [Urmston] says he cannot do now what he formerly has done, but this lazy distemper has seized him by what I hear ever since his coming to the country." The notable historian Francis Lister Hawks declared that Mr. Urmston did more to retard the spread of Christianity in North Carolina "than any and all causes combined." In the early 1900s Bishop Cheshire described Mr. Urmston as "the most disgraceful character in the history of the Church in America." And a more recent historian of the Anglican Church, Edgar Legare Pennington, called him quarrelsome, selfish, covetous, and lazy, "given to a cynical disposition and decidedly a misfit."

Complaining vehemently (and, no doubt, with some justification) about the impossibility of effectively ministering to the inhabitants of the large territory assigned to him by the SPG, Mr. Urmston's letters began to make clear that he despised his assignment to "such an obscure corner of the world, inhabited by the dregs and gleanings of all other English colonies." Indeed, he described the colony as "a hell of a hole," giving the most damning descriptions of the people of the parish, of the little church building at Hayes, and of the circumstances of life in the parish. Constantly grasping for money, he complained incessantly about what he believed to be the vestry's schemes to withhold his salary, "And the longer I stay the worse it will be."

Mr. Urmston's ministry ends in disgrace.

Mr. Urmston returned to England in total disgrace. Nevertheless he was sent back to the colonies by the SPG, first to Christ Church, Philadelphia, as "visiting Pastor," then to Cecil County, Maryland, where he stayed for four years until he was dismissed for drunkenness "on weekdays and on several Sundays."

He died, as the *North Carolina Churchman* recently recalled, "after falling into a fireplace during a drunken fit."

ON APRIL 18, 1708, it had been "Resolved that Edward Moseley Esq^{r}. shall Suceed in the Vestry in the Place of Cap^{t}. Thomas Blount."

Vestryman Edward Moseley plays an important role.

Speaker of the Assembly before the proprietary colonies were separated, Edward Moseley served as what today we may call a civil servant, often concerned with mapping and surveying territory in the new colonies. Generally referred to as "Colonel" Moseley, he was part of the team that in 1728 drew the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia, and his name is given to the "Moseley map" of the early eighteenth century.

He was clearly a highly intelligent man, generally trusted and respected. Efforts to trace his early background, however, have revealed little information. It is assumed that he came to this country from England, apparently trained as a lawyer, for he left a law library of two hundred books to one of his sons.

Moseley is cited as having some involvement in the settlement of property owned by John Urmston, the former rector of the parish, at what is now Athol on Albemarle Sound. We also have records of his attempts to see justice done to Governor Charles Eden and his secretary, Tobias Knight, for what he believed was their trafficking in contraband with pirates.

Mr. Moseley's first wife (née Anne Lillington) was the widow of colonial governor Henderson Walker, a first vestryman of St. Paul's, who had died at age forty. By his marriage to Mrs. Walker, Edward Moseley inherited the responsibility of settling the late governor's estate, including the "ten pounds sterling" sent in 1703 to Governor Walker by Virginia governor Francis Nicholson for the purchase of "'Church Plate' in this our Precinct and Parish of St. Paul's."

Vestry minutes show that it had been "ordered that ten pound in Pieces of Eight with 17 p.wt. [penny weight] shall be sent to Boston to Purchase a Chalice of the Use of the Church with this Motto: *Ex Dono* ffrancia Nicholson Esq. her Majesty's Lieutenant Gov.r of her

Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia." And indeed, the money had been sent to Boston silversmith, Jeremiah Dummer, who had since died, at approximately the same time as Governor Walker.

Money is sent to Boston to buy church plate.

In 1713 it was "ordered that [the wardens] do sue Mr. Edward Moseley pursuant to a former Order of Vestry for the Money in his Hands." The vestry had no foundation in fact to pursue a lawsuit because the money was tied up in the estate settlements of both deceased men, and not in Mr. Moseley's hands. Mr. Moseley, nevertheless, later honored his inherited obligation to the parish at his own expense. Vestry minutes record that "Col. Edward Moseley made a present to the Parish of a Silver Chalice and Plate with his Own Name Engraven thereon."

The silver paten and chalice donated by Edward Moseley

PHOTO · G. M. TUCKER
COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

The paten and chalice, formerly thought to have come from Boston, were probably made in Williamsburg: they bear the maker's initials "AK," possibly Alexander Kerr, a silversmith active in Williamsburg at that time. Each is inscribed, "The Gift of Colonell Edward Mosely, for y^{e} use of y^{e} Church in Edenton in the year 1725," apparently the date of their manufacture.

THE HARDSHIPS OF SERVICE

THE PLIGHT OF ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES in colonial North Carolina, especially in the Albemarle, has been well described by Edgar Legare Pennington:

> "[they] belong to the annals of true American heroism. ... In no colony did the ministers have larger and more difficult fields to cover; in no colony did they meet with greater obstacles, physical, spiritual, and political. Cut off from the centres of population, far removed from the company of educated men, and faced by frontier conditions of the grimmest and most prosaic sort, [they] endured hardness for the sake of the Master in a way that must fill the most indifferent student with admiration."

1712–26 · Heroic efforts are made to serve the people of the growing colony.

Between the years 1712 and 1726, in addition to Mr. Urmston who served as the appointed minister of the parish, five Anglican clergymen were sent to Chowan. Each of the itinerant ministers had experiences unfortunate at best and sometimes devastating.

The pious Giles Rainsford, who came to the Albemarle possibly as early as June, 1712, was captured by Indians while on a preaching journey, detained, then released under guard. Terrified, he moved to Virginia within four years of the beginning of his ministry.

The Reverend Ebenezer Taylor, who succeeded him, serving chiefly on "the southwestern shore" of Chowan (most likely in what is now Washington County), was robbed, it is thought, and murdered while on a missionary trip from Bath to Core Sound.

The Reverend Thomas Newnam (or Newman, as his name is sometimes spelled) was sent to the Albemarle in 1722. As the only clergyman in the region, he was obliged to serve four or five parishes by turn. He died within a year, probably from exhaustion and exposure. The vestry commended "the said Mr. Newnam's Pious and good Behaviour during the Time of his Mission among us," and made arrangements "toward the Accommodation of his Widow's intended

Voyage to Great Britain." Mr. Newnam is listed as an early rector of St. Paul's.

The Reverend John Blacknall, also held to be among the earliest rectors of St. Paul's, succeeded Mr. Newnam in 1725. Although little is known of him, judicial records indicate that he was brought before the court for solemnising an illegal marriage. Mr. Blacknall left in 1726.

The Reverend Thomas Bailey, a missionary who in 1725 had fled his wretched reputation in Philadelphia, proved a drunkard and a trouble-maker. No record of his service at St. Paul's can be found.

John Blacknall, Rector of St. Paul's, 1725–6, from a photograph of his portrait

COURTESY OF RICHARD BLACKNALL HOLEMAN

For six years after Mr. Blacknall's departure, the parish was paid only intermittent attention by missionaries who remained typically for less than a year. Among them were the Reverend Mr. Fountain and the Reverend Richard Marsden (1728–9), and the Reverend Mr. Robinson and the Reverend Walter Jones (1730). It appears that St. Paul's parish had no assigned Anglican clergyman until the appointment in 1732 of the Reverend Bevil Granville, described as "effective and industrious."

The Reverend John Boyd, rector of Society Parish in what is now Bertie County, also came to St. Paul's several times between 1732 and 1736. On one occasion it is noted that his surplice, showing the effects of hard use and much travel on muddy roads, had to be laundered at the expense of the parish, a sum of ten shillings. A Scottish physician trained at the University of Glasgow, Dr. Boyd died in 1738.

The Reverend John Garzia, from Bath, also an occasional visitor to

Edenton in the years before 1738, was recommended as Dr. Boyd's successor in Bertie. He died in November, 1744, after falling from his horse while visiting the sick.

THE FIRST COLONIAL CAPITAL

1722 · *A capital is created and called Edenton.*

SIGNIFICANT CHANGE HAD OCCURRED in 1722, when the Lords Proprietors decided to establish a capital for governing the growing Carolina colony. The logical choice was a place where the greatest opportunity for commerce could be found, a safe harbor on a bay providing (at the time) easy access to the ocean. In recognition of the deceased royal governor, Charles Eden, the capital was to be called Edenton, and orders were given to erect buildings appropriate for a colonial capital.

The commissioners saw the advantage of constructing the buildings of the capital on the highest ground in the area: the intersection of the present Broad and Church Streets. The waterfront was a working place, with piers and warehouses and only a sandy beach to serve as a street. At Broad and Church Streets three parcels of land were chosen: one for a marketplace (the site of the present Edenton post office and part of the Iredell House property); one for a precinct courthouse (not constructed until 1980); and one for a church to be surrounded by a public cemetery.

As the *Colonial Records* of November 30, 1724, show,

> "the Church Wardens were ordered to desire the Commissioners for Building a Court House and Other Buildings to draw from the hands of the Lords Proprietors' Receiver General the sum of 200 pounds sterling and also the sum of 200 pounds, out of the hands of the Public Treasurer, the same being appropriated for the building of a church at Edenton and the Commissioners be desired to proceed on the same building."

Despite the funding of four hundred pounds, with the instruction that the parish raise the additional funds needed, twelve years elapsed

before the construction of St. Paul's began. Building the courthouse, jail, and additional government buildings took priority.

The initial step toward building the brick church that is the present St. Paul's was taken in 1729, when the church wardens in charge of the project, colonial governor Richard Everard and Edward Moseley, met with some difficulties, "... being always hindered by our secretary, one Mr. John Lovick, a man of no religion, fears not God nor man, believes neither, seldom seen at any place of divine worship, his money is his God, ridicules all goodness. While such a man is in power no good can be expected."

1736 · Construction of a new brick church begins.

Construction of the new church finally began in 1736. In the tiny town of Edenton—at that time no more than a jumble of small clapboard houses in the wilderness—plans were made to erect a large brick church. In comparison with the humble dwellings of the town, the new St. Paul's was intended to be impressive, a grand structure symbolic of the power vested in a colonial capital.

In 1743, however, the government left Edenton as new settlers moved south and west. Development in the town slowed, and the political need for a large handsome church existed no longer. This was the Edenton, abandoned as the center of government, that the Reverend Clement Hall found on his arrival in the parish. And it was here in St. Paul's parish that the remarkable Mr. Hall made his most valuable contribution: his diligent ministry to the people.

THE REVEREND CLEMENT HALL

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORIAN William S. Powell, has observed that the Reverend Clement Hall was

> "such an outstanding colonial missionary that his record has been widely cited by church historians for more than two centuries. Indeed, even before his death his service was pointed to with pride by his contemporaries, and there were many favorable comments on the splendid work he did among the scattered settlements in

> the Albemarle section of North Carolina. Yet Hall was an humble man who frequently bemoaned the fact that he was never able to accomplish as much as he desired."

As is true in the case of so many early settlers in North Carolina, his origins are not clear. It is known that he and his brother, Robert, were born in England, perhaps in Coventry, at the heart of the South Midlands, and that they came to this country together. The earliest contemporary reference to Clement Hall in North Carolina is from a deed dated October 18, 1731, that indicates he bought property and settled on the northeast side of the Perquimans River. Mr. Hall became Justice of the Peace in 1739, and served as a lay reader in the Church of England chapel in Perquimans County. It appears that he went back to England to bring his mother to the colony some time before his marriage to Frances Foster in the summer of 1742. Soon after this, his brother married Ann Leary of Chowan.

In 1743 Mr. Hall returned again to London, to seek ordination as a missionary of the SPG. He was appointed missionary in January, 1744, and ordained priest in June, possibly on St. John Baptist's Day. On his return to St. Paul's parish in 1744 to resume his duties as a newly ordained priest, his voyage from England to North Carolina took fourteen weeks, from the middle of August to the latter part of November, "a tedious passage," as he described it.

1744 · The Reverend Clement Hall begins his outstanding ministry.

On February 27, 1745, Mr. Hall sent his first report to his superiors at the SPG in London:

> "I have very lately agreed with the Vestry of Chowan [St. Paul's] Parish for 45 pounds per annum & to settle near Edenton and to officiate in the Court house there in town two Sundays (until the Church is built), and every third at 30 or 40 Miles distance, the parish being of vast extent and the tytheables about 1200..."

Within the next three months he baptized one hundred people and delivered sermons in a dozen different places in the huge district he had to cover. While his chief assignment was to serve as a missionary based in Edenton, his ministry was expansive. Because the colony lacked

1745–55 · *Clement Hall travels extensively, preaching to large gatherings and baptizing hundreds.*

additional clergy, Mr. Hall preached in four counties of northeastern North Carolina. He wrote that his intention was to visit every settlement in his mission during the spring of 1745, estimating that his visits would require at least four hundred miles of riding.

From the statistical records of the SPG, which are based on Mr. Hall's correspondence, it is known that his ministry was vast. At least twice each year he journeyed through this large territory, seldom reporting a trip of less than two hundred miles. In 1751 he traveled 557 miles, and in 1755 he reported that he was traveling 2,200 miles a year. On each tour he most often preached fourteen or sixteen times in chapels at various places throughout the territory; but on numerous occasions he reported congregations of as many as six hundred at outdoor services. Records show that he instructed blacks and children in preparation for baptism, "churched" women, visited the sick, and distributed tracts supplied by the SPG. He administered the Holy Communion sometimes to as many as 300.

"Though my duty is very hard and I must expect to meet with some difficulties," Mr. Hall wrote in 1745, "I have the countenance of the Governor who is a pious and worthy Gentleman, and the good will of all good Protestants in the place that know me."

Construction of the new church was slow, as he reported:

> "I am sorry to acquaint you that the Church at Edenton is yet unfinished, but now we have good hopes of its going forward; & in the mean time Divine Service is performed in the Court house, the Congregation behaving with devotion & decency, several of which are very desirous to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. We are at a loss for a Church Bible & Common prayer book having none in my library; neither is there any here to be bought."

Considering the vast expanse of the missionary field, the number of miles that he walked or rode in bad weather through sometimes treacherous territory, and the effort required to baptize, instruct, and care for hundreds of individuals, it is hardly surprising that, like so many in the region in the 1750s, Mr. Hall endured ill health.

Although he wrote little about his health, and never with complaint, we know that from 1750 until his death in 1759 he was very sick from time to time, suffering variously from "an obstinate Cough, slow fever & bad appetite," "the Hemmorhoids," and, in 1757, an attack of pleurisy. "I have reason to believe," he wrote in 1752, "my Health & constitution is much Impaired & Broken by reason of my continual Labours in my offices..." adding, with reference to his mother's recent death, "I can't expect to be long after her, for I have been growing worse in health ever [since]..."

The First Devotional Book

1753 · Clement Hall's Collection is the first non-legal book to be published in the colony.

It was probably during this period that Mr. Hall produced his little book, *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved.* Published in New Bern in 1753, it was both the first non-legal book printed in North Carolina and the first book written by a citizen of the colony and published in the colony.

The *Collection* includes quotations or paraphrases from many books of the Bible, prayers for families and children, and directions for observing Sundays. The section "Serious Advice to Persons Who Have Been Sick... with a Thanksgiving for Recovery," was actually written by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London (1723–48), who had approved Mr. Hall's admission to Holy Orders in 1743 and remained his friend. The bulk of the *Collection*, however, consists of proverbs, many of which originated with Mr. Hall.

In the introduction, "To the Candid Reader," Mr. Hall confesses that he conceived the book as he journeyed about his parish, as a means of keeping his thoughts employed on good subjects, with the hope that "it might also be of some Use to others, who have a Desire to improve their Time upon the like Occasions, or when on a Winter's night or a rainy Day they have Leisure to peruse it, instead of Drinking, Gaming, or telling of an idle or slandrous Tale; I have ventured to put this Mite into the Treasury."

Throughout his ministry Mr. Hall was deeply concerned about education for all his people, repeatedly begging for books from

A

COLLECTION

OF MANY

Chriſtian Experiences, Sentences,

AND SEVERAL

Places of Scripture Improved:

ALSO,

Some ſhort and plain DIRECTIONS and PRAYERS for ſick Perſons; with ſerious ADVICE to Perſons who have been ſick, to be by them peruſed and put in Practice as ſoon as they are recovered; and a THANKSGIVING for Recovery.

To which is added,

Morning and Evening Prayers for Families and Children, Directions for the LORD'S-DAY, and ſome Cautions againſt Indecencies in Time of Divine Service, *&c.*

Collected and Compoſed for the Spiritual Good of his Pariſhoners, and others.

By C. H. *Miſſionary to the Honourable Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, and Rector of St.* Paul's *Pariſh, in* North-Carolina.

O! how ſweet are thy Words unto my Taſte, yea ſweeter than Honey to my Mouth, Pſal. cxix. 103.

I am well pleaſed that the Lord hath heard the Voice of my Prayer, that he hath inclined his Ear unto me; therefore will I call upon him as long as I live, Pſal. cxvi. 12.

NEWBERN:

Printed by JAMES DAVIS, M,DCC,LIII.

Facsimile of the title page of Clement Hall's Collection

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

England—Bibles, prayer books, catechisms, "Manuals for the Devout," collections of sermons, and theological works. Sadly, the house that he had built only two years earlier and named "Shelton" (on the site of the present Shelton, just off the Virginia Road) burned in December, 1755, and his books were destroyed. One copy of the *Collection* survived the fire and this original volume is now in the rare book room of the library at Duke University in Durham.

1755 · Mr. Hall's health deteriorates.

On June 25, 1755, in failing health, Mr. Hall asked the SPG to confine his labors to Chowan County: "Mr. Hall humbly begs the Society to consider his Age & former Services so far as to appoint him Parochial Minister to the Parish of St. Paul's in Chowan County." It was not until 1757, however, that the Society granted his request, thereby relieving him of his duties as missionary to all of northeastern North Carolina and focusing his efforts on St. Paul's. Hall nevertheless continued to visit his old itinerant field, officiating as needed "in those Parishes where there is no Minister."

1736–58 · Work on the new church proceeds slowly.

Throughout the course of his service Mr. Hall kept the Society informed about the progress being made in the construction of the church in Edenton. As the *Virginia Gazette* reported in 1736, it was to be "a large, handsome Brick Church, with a Steeple ... many of the Bricks being already burnt; great Part of the Charge of which is to be defrayed by the generous Subscription of well-disposed Gentlemen, and the Remainder by the Parish."

In 1746 Mr. Hall noted that the roof had finally been raised over the church. In 1749 he reported that Francis Corbin, agent for the proprietory Earl of Granville, "... will do his true endeavour to have it finished." In 1751, "the Brick are now making to enclose the Church at Edenton," and in 1752 he noted that Corbin and others were "taking proper Methods for finishing their Church." In 1754 nothing more definite than brick-making was going forward, but in 1755 Mr. Hall expressed hope that work on the church, begun twenty years earlier, would soon be finished. In June, 1758, he was bold to write that the church was to be finished and fit for use that year, by Michaelmas, September 29.

But it was not to be. When the Reverend Clement Hall died in January, 1759, possibly at the age of 59 (the exact date of his birth is unknown), St. Paul's Church was still unfinished; it was not used for worship until more than a year after his death.

1759 · *The Reverend Clement Hall dies.*

Clement Hall's ministry had been one of intense and unflagging service. His example of self-sacrifice and devotion has been lauded as unsurpassed. At St. Paul's the grave beneath the north end of the altar, a place traditionally reserved in English churches for the burial of a cherished rector, is believed to be his.

TUMULTUOUS TIMES

DANIEL EARL, SUCCESSOR TO MR. HALL, served St. Paul's for more than twenty years—from 1757 until 1778—during a disruptive period in American history: the years before and during the war for independence—the American Revolution.

Mr. Earl was ordained by the Bishop of London in September, 1756, in the cathedral city of Rochester in southeast England. The following year he was sent by the SPG to the Albemarle region to serve as a schoolmaster in Edenton. Shortly after his arrival in the parish, he married Elizabeth Gregory of Chowan County, and bought Boyd's Burgh, a property so named because it had been owned by the Reverend John Boyd, the early missionary to the parish. Like many land owners near the Chowan River, Daniel Earl had a fishery there.

After Elizabeth Gregory died, Mr. Earl married Charity Jones, the sister of Thomas Jones, clerk of court in Chowan County. The union produced two daughters, Elizabeth and Ann. Elizabeth married Charles Johnson of Strawberry Hill, and they became the parents of Charles Earl Johnson, who inherited the Earl property. In 1828, Charles Earl Johnson built a house, a farm office, a smokehouse, and a brick kitchen there. (The house burned in 1963, the farm office was moved to the grounds of the Iredell House in town, and the kitchen and smokehouse remain at the site, renamed "Bandon" in the late 1840s.)

As Clement Hall's health deteriorated, Mr. Earl, an ordained priest, was needed to serve as his assistant. Records indicate that he was appointed reader to substitute for the minister, and, on the death of Mr. Hall, rector of St. Paul's and missionary to the region at large.

1757 · The Reverend Daniel Earl's two decades of service begin

Mr. Earl preached at Edenton and at the rural chapels. Like his predecessors, he recounted in his annual reports to the SPG the hardships experienced by a missionary in a large colonial parish. Mr. Earl reported many baptisms and also described the poor physical condition of St. Paul's Church. He pleaded for funds for the parish school (shown on the Sauthier map of 1769 on a lot immediately across Gale Street from St. Paul's churchyard).

Controversy and Change

When Daniel Earl assumed his position as rector of St. Paul's in 1759, signs of a trend toward independence from Great Britain had already begun to appear, and decades of distrust of the Mother Country came to a climax during the years of his ministry. In 1760, as just one example of the mounting tension, we find that the royal governor, Arthur Dobbs, appealed to the King to strengthen his hand so that he could effectively "oppose and suppress a republican spirit of independency rising in this [North Carolina] colony."

Rebellious sentiments toward the Crown begin to grow.

Impending rebellion against the Crown had a devastating effect on the Anglican Church in this country, and St. Paul's was no exception. Yet parishioners continued to struggle toward completion of the church building, begun years earlier in 1736. In his correspondence with the SPG Mr. Earl frequently described St. Paul's Church as "dilapidated." But in 1760 the church was in sufficiently good condition to accommodate the first meeting there of the vestry. No record of the date of the first divine service at St. Paul's remains, although it is likely that the first service was held on the Sunday following the first vestry meeting.

Over the next fifteen years, sporadic efforts were made to maintain the building and also to complete the interior. In 1764 "Good Glass" was ordered to be put into the windows "where any is broken out," and the "Ruff" [roof] was to be "well tared [tarred] over." Lock and

key for the church door were purchased in that year. Doors were repaired in 1765, and in the following year Hance Hofler, a vestryman, was authorized to make "such further Repairs to the church as he considers necessary." In 1769 architect John Hawks designed a cupola for the tower, but it was never erected. And in 1774 interior woodwork was installed to complete the church in a "good decent workmanlike manner." The next year a pulpit was built.

The port of Edenton thrives as revolutionary fever gathers.

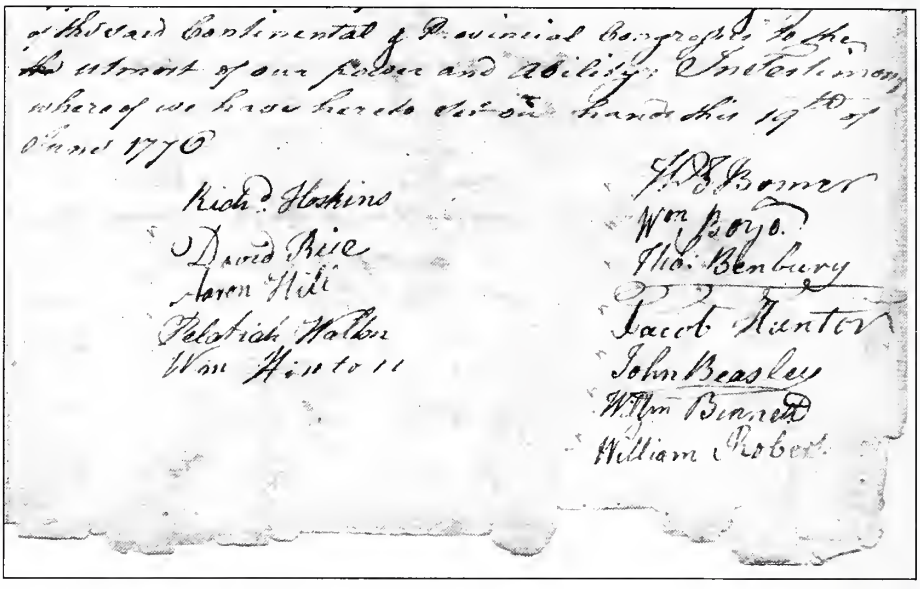
While the effects of the coming revolution were destructive to St. Paul's, Edenton's economy thrived. Unlike Boston harbor, where in 1773 the British closed the port in response to the Boston Tea Party, the Port of Roanoke (Edenton harbor) remained open and served as a center for shipping tons of relief supplies to the besieged northern colonies. Thriving commerce and the hope of gain through maritime trade created opportunity for a number of Edenton businessmen who later distinguished themselves in the cause for independence.

Members of St. Paul's become leaders in the patriotic cause.

Joseph Hewes, who had lived in Edenton for years, was a clerk and later a partner of the firm of Charles Blount, and went on to became a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Hugh Williamson, although not long in Edenton, became a signer of the U.S. Constitution. Samuel Johnston, a long-time Edenton resident, became the first senator from North Carolina and one of the earliest governors of the young state. James Iredell, Sr., who arrived in Edenton in 1768 to accept a job arranged for him by a relative, later became a justice of the first U.S. Supreme Court. Thomas Jones, who served as clerk of court, later became a writer of the constitution of the new state of North Carolina. All were members of St. Paul's, and all were prominent figures in the American Revolution.

THE TEST

On June 19, 1776, the Vestry signed what is known in the history of the parish as "the Test," an oath of office that every elected official of the provincial government, including vestrymen, was required to sign.



June 19, 1776 · "The Test" is signed by leaders of the parish:
Richard Hoskins
David Rice
Aaron Hill
Peletiah Walton
William Hinton
Thomas Bonner
William Boyd
Thomas Benbury
Jacob Hunter
John Beasley
William Bennett
William Roberts

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

A political declaration, not an ecclesiastical one, the Test was adopted by the third Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Hillsborough on August 23, 1775. It was created to define the position of all men in office in North Carolina toward the Crown, the royal governor, and the colony. The Test had nothing to do with the Church, as such, and proves that Anglicans were not required to be loyal to the Crown.

At the third Provincial Congress it was agreed that members of the congress would qualify by taking an oath in the presence of three members of the council, acknowledging allegiance to the Crown, but denying the right of Parliament to levy internal taxes in the colonies; they also would agree to obey the acts and resolutions of both the Provincial and Continental Congresses.

Vestrymen in Edenton signed the Test in the wake of a number of events that occurred in rapid succession, propelling the colonies to rebellion. These included:

March, 1773: the creation of the Committees of Correspondence;

August, 1774: the meeting of the first Provincial Congress, calling for the creation of the Continental Congress;

Events escalate, leading to rebellion.

October, 1774 and May, 1775: the first and second meetings of the Continental Congress;

April, 1775: the second Provincial Congress, endorsing the rights of the people to act independently of the royal governor;

April 19, 1775: the battles of Lexington and Concord, with "the shot heard 'round the world";

May, 1775: the flight of royal governor Josiah Martin;

July, 1775: the destruction of the buildings of Fort Johnston at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, cited as the first overt act of war in the colony;

August, 1775: the third Provincial Congress in Hillsborough, which sought to create an army and to provide a government for North Carolina in the "absence" of Governor Martin;

April, 1776: the fourth North Carolina Provincial Congress, empowering its delegate to the Continental Congress to concur with representatives from the twelve other colonies in "declaring Independency."

The Test professed allegiance to the King, and went on to declare that "the people of this Province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and Resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves." No doubt the oath of allegiance to the King was included to escape the accusation of treason, and to avoid the same fate that Bostonians had suffered at the closing of their harbor. Also of note, the Test subtly made clear that the signers' loyalties were to the colony, not to the royal governor.

The Test was signed by the twelve vestrymen then serving St. Paul's just fifteen days prior to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. A tablet on the wall at the back of St. Paul's, on the left of the principal entrance through the tower, presents the Test in full and commemorates the vestrymen who signed it.

Independence has far-reaching consequences for the Church.

Independence had serious repercussions for the Church. The citizenry decided to separate Church and State, thus effectively disestablishing the Church, and State support all but ceased.

The constitution of 1776 contained three articles relating to the separation of Church and State: membership in the Assembly and Council was forbidden to active clergymen; the holding of public office was limited to persons who did not deny "the Being of God, or the Truth of the Protestant Religion"; and it was decreed that no church should ever be established, nor any person compelled to attend services or pay for a glebe, church, or minister unless he voluntarily agreed to do so. Essentially, all means of support from the Church of England were cut off from the Anglican communion in this country. In the words of the historian Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, "it was as if the Church ceased to breathe in 1776 and slowly died."

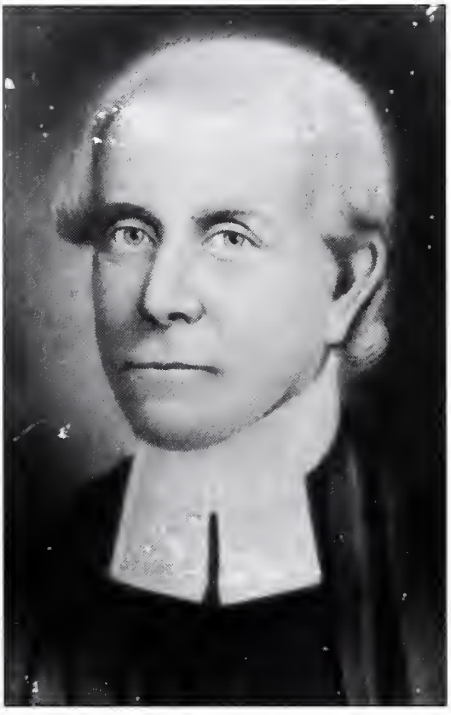
The Reverend Daniel Earl had been an active sympathizer in the struggle of the colonies for independence. He presided over the meeting of the vestry to endorse the acts of the third Provincial Congress, leading to the signing of the Test in the following year, and was appointed chairman of a committee to enhance the manufacturing capacities of the colony to provide supplies to the domestic militia in the event of a split from Great Britain.

In 1775, aging and in failing health, Mr. Earl was granted an assistant by the SPG, and in 1778, with little means of support and a dwindling flock of parishioners, he left St. Paul's. Daniel Earl died in 1790 and was buried at his farm on the Chowan River, just fifteen miles from Edenton. His assistant, Charles Pettigrew, succeeded him.

"PARSON" PETTIGREW

BORN IN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1744 and educated by a Presbyterian clergyman in Granville County, North Carolina, Mr. Pettigrew was employed to open a school in Bute County (now Franklin and Warren Counties), where he taught from 1766 until 1773, when he was

employed to run the parish school in Edenton. Required in this capacity to be a member of the Church of England (he was yet a Presbyterian), he became a lay reader at St. Paul's and began studies to become an Anglican priest.



Charles Pettigrew, Rector of St. Paul's, 1778–88

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

In March, 1775 Mr. Pettigrew was ordained in England by the Bishops of London and Rochester, before returning to Edenton to help Daniel Earl at St. Paul's and at the "chapels of ease" in the counties. In 1778 he was named rector of St. Paul's.

A moderate patriot himself, the Reverend Charles Pettigrew preached appropriate sermons to patriotic assemblages, but he was deemed "insufficiently fiery" to appease the Blounts, a powerful family established chiefly on the south side of Albemarle Sound, who sought to have him drafted for military service despite his clerical standing. Indeed, Mr. Pettigrew served in the militia for a few weeks in 1780, until he was able to produce an able-bodied substitute for himself and thus escape battle duty.

Times are hard for St. Paul's and other Anglican churches in America.

It was a grim time. Like all Anglican churches in America, St. Paul's had lost support from the Church of England, and, lacking funding, had no way to pay a minister or to attract a new clergyman. Furthermore, there was no way for the Anglican churches to appoint a bishop or have him consecrated. Vestry members of St. Paul's, whose focus had always been secular, were stripped of all responsibilities except for charity, and designated solely "the Court of the Overseers of the Poor." Their only remaining ecclesiastical responsibility was to raise money to support the counties' chapels.

During this time St. Paul's had no established rector and essentially no congregation (some members of St. Paul's had begun to attend services at the Baptist and Methodist churches where ministers were in place). This accounts for the absence of vestry minutes at St. Paul's from 1778 until late in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

1790 · The first steps are taken toward the formation of an Episcopal diocese in North Carolina.

During this period efforts were made to pick up the pieces of the shattered church. Between 1790 and 1794 Mr. Pettigrew participated in a movement to organize the former Anglican church into the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, promoting four conventions for this purpose.

Only four people attended the first convention. Mr. Pettigrew explained the lame attendance thus: "The Clergy of this State find it necessary to engage in the business of farming, for the support of their families... [as] this is perhaps the most busy season of the year."

Elected the first bishop of the diocese, Charles Pettigrew fails to be consecrated.

The second convention, in Tarboro in 1794, was more successful, and Mr. Pettigrew was elected bishop of the proposed diocese. He did not, however, attend the next two triennial conventions, where he could have been consecrated. It is suggested that he was turned back from his journey on each occasion because of reported outbreaks of deadly yellow fever in Norfolk (the location of the first convention) and in Philadelphia (the second). Nevertheless, for his failure to be consecrated, he received scathing letters from the organizers of the conventions, one in 1799 seeking his resignation at the next diocesan convention.

In the years following his election as bishop, Charles Pettigrew corresponded with other clergymen in the state, urging the organization of vestries, and he preached in the chapels in his territory, but made little effort otherwise. In his memoirs Bishop White of Pennsylvania wrote of Mr. Pettigrew, "Why nothing was done [after Mr. Pettigrew's election as bishop], for the carrying of the design into effect, is not known..." Mr. Pettigrew himself, appearing to recognize his own shortcomings, wrote in 1795, "I most sincerely wish that some Episcopal clergyman of eminence would come into our State. I would cheerfully resign my appointment in his favor."

It is true, however, that Mr. Pettigrew, whose only income came from his plantations, preached "without gratuity or reward," wrote many hymns, religious poems, and sermons, and built chapels with funds from his own pocket. But his limited efforts were not enough to reverse the devastating effects of the American Revolution on the Church. Charles Pettigrew appears to have had greater success as a planter than as a man of the cloth. When he died in 1807 he was the owner of two plantations in North Carolina, eight hundred acres of land in Tennessee, thirty-four slaves, a chapel (St. David's at Creswell), and "a good house." He was buried beside his first wife, Mary Blount, at her family home at Mulberry Hill. In 1831 his remains were moved by his only surviving son to the family cemetery at Bonarva Plantation near Lake Phelps.

Almost one hundred years later, in 1930, the great-granddaughters of Charles Pettigrew donated to St. Paul's his Bible and prayer book, both dating from 1773. The fly-leaves of the Bible bear the inscription "The Births of Negroes, Cs. Pw.," listing fifty-seven between 1740 and 1807. The margins of the prayer book contain changes adapting the English to American usage, omitting, for example, the prayer "for the Royal Family."

THE CHURCH IN DECLINE

1794–1810 · *The Anglican Church continues to decline.*

A SLOW BUT STEADY DETERIORATION in the Church's strength was evident after 1794. From 1794 until 1810, only five active Episcopal clergymen served the state, Charles Pettigrew among them. He remained bishop-elect until his death, and, as Dr. Lemmon observed, on his demise "the first effort to organize the diocese was effectually dead" too.

During this period the church building of St. Paul's had also deteriorated. As one writer later observed, "The old Episcopal church had long been in a ruinous condition, its walls well nigh tumbling to the ground, the floors torn up and the sacred stand not having been occupied by a Minister of the Gospel for years."

1806 · *Repairs and improvements are carried out at St. Paul's.*

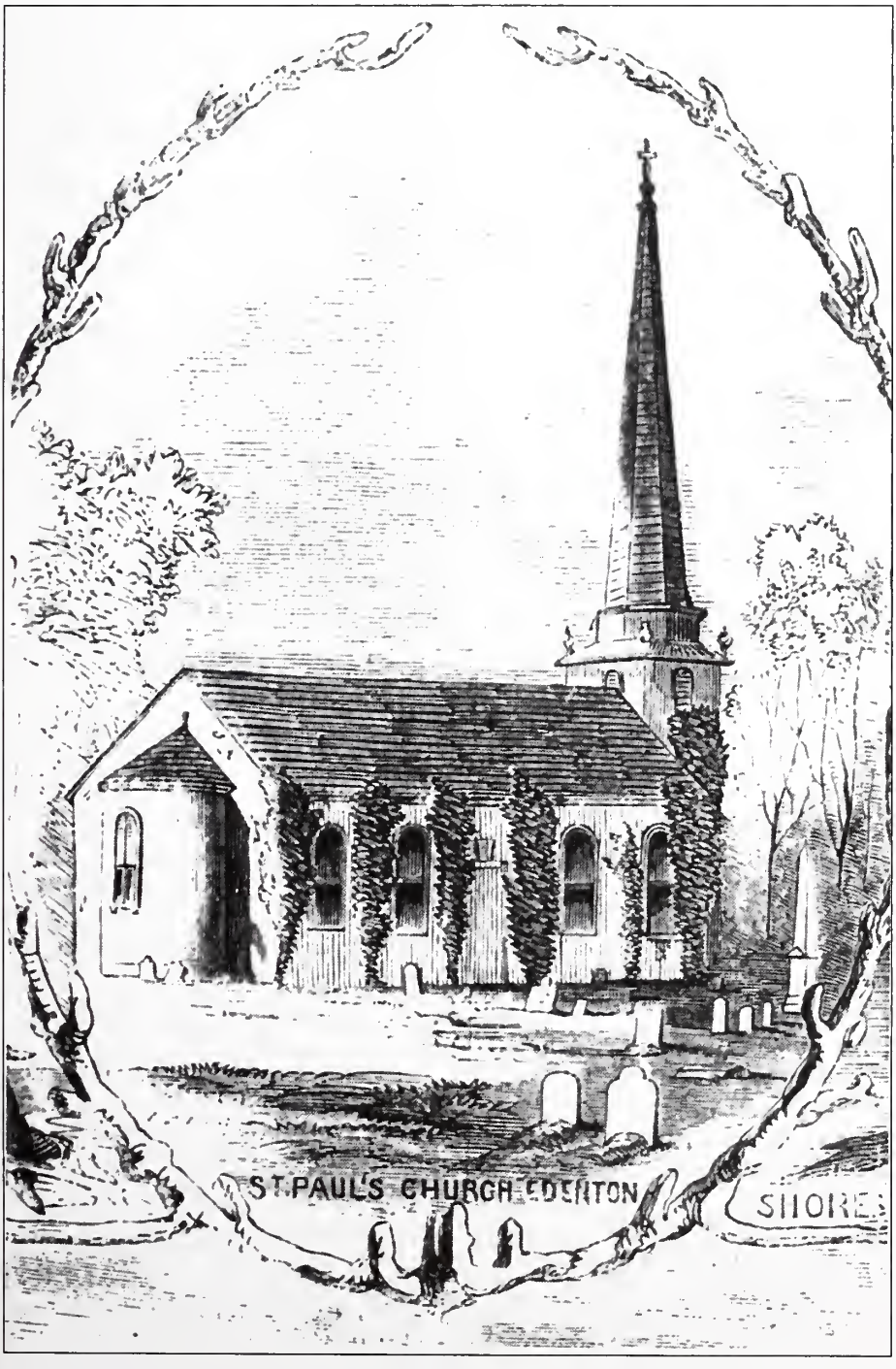
The Episcopalians in Edenton were moved to give personal funds for the repair of St. Paul's and to secure a minister. In 1806, the parish employed carpenter-architect, William Nichols, a native of Bath, England, who had arrived in New Bern in 1800, to restore and remodel St. Paul's. He later served as superintendent of construction for James Cathcart Johnston at Hayes. He is remembered as a talented and ambitious architect and builder "with an eye for fashion, opportunity, and economy."

His second wife was Sarah Simons from Chowan County, and with her he remained in St. Paul's parish for a number of years. During that time he worked on various building projects in the area, including the East Custom House on Court Street in Edenton, and possibly also Beverly Hall on West King Street.

Nichols repaired the interior of St. Paul's and added the spire, with four decorative urns at the corners of the bell tower. The exterior remained as first planned in the 1730s—a Flemish bond brick building, rectangular in plan, with a stout, square entrance tower on the west and an elliptical apse which defines the chancel at the east end. St. Paul's was originally, and remains today, akin in form, function, and workmanship to its predecessors and contemporaries in England and Virginia. The renovation of St. Paul's in 1806–7 was a bright event that occurred in a generally dark time.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN NORTH CAROLINA

IN LATE 1811, four years after "Parson" Pettigrew's death, the Edenton Academy engaged the services of Frederick W. Hatch, a clergyman from Maryland. He taught for a year, then served St. Paul's Church until 1815, when he returned to Frederick Town in Maryland. Committed to his teaching responsibilities, Mr. Hatch served more as chaplain than rector to the few churchmen in Edenton at the time.



This drawing of St. Paul's from Harpers Weekly, 1862, shows the spire and urns added by William Nichols in 1806.

COURTESY OF SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY, CHAPEL HILL

In May, 1817, only three men served as clergymen in all of North Carolina: the Reverend Adam Empie, from Long Island, New York, was rector of St. James's, Wilmington ; the Reverend Bethel Judd, from the Diocese of Connecticut, also rector of St. James's and later of St. John's in Fayetteville; and the Reverend Jehu Curtis Clay, from Pennsylvania, rector of Christ Church, New Bern. The efforts of these men and their supporters led to the rise of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina.

1817 · The first Diocesan Convention takes place.

On April 24, 1817, nine men met in convention at Christ Church, New Bern to form the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. The meeting was attended by three clergymen and six lay delegates from four parishes, including Josiah Collins of Edenton. The historian Dr. Lemmon has described the proceedings:

> "They prepared a constitution for the Church in North Carolina, acceding to the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and acknowledging its authority. All present signed the document and sent it to the General Convention with a request for recognition and the right to send representatives to that body. This constitution provided for the simplest of diocesan organizations. There was to be an annual Convention composed of the clergymen 'regularly settled' in the state and at least one lay delegate from each congregation... Each year the Convention was to name a three-to-seven-man Standing Committee with power to admit candidates for the ministry, and, pending the election of a bishop, 'to examine the testimonials of foreign clergymen, to call special meetings of the Convention, and to transact all such other business as they are empowered to do by the Constitution and Canons of the General Convention.'"

John B. Blount of Edenton was among the members of the Standing Committee.

At the time of the first Diocesan Convention, although not as a part of its official business, a Missionary Society was formed to secure funds for the employment of clergymen; and it was voted that the

Right Reverend Richard Channing Moore, rector of Monumental Church in Richmond and bishop of Virginia since 1814, be asked "to visit and perform the Episcopal offices in this State." On May 20, 1817, less than a month later, the Diocese of North Carolina was formed. The following day the General Convention of the American Church met in Trinity Church, New York, and passed a resolution recognizing the Church in North Carolina as a "member of this Union."

May 20, 1817 · The Diocese of North Carolina is formed.

Richard Channing Moore was a popular clergyman, admired and respected for his beliefs and his considerable contributions to the new Diocese of North Carolina. He considered the episcopacy to be "divinely instituted and necessary for the perfection of the church," regarded the Sacraments as "the means of grace rather than signs of grace already bestowed," and believed that regular services of the Church should be conducted in strict conformity with the rubrics. On April 17, 1819, *en route* to Wilmington to preside over the 1819 Convention, he stopped in Fayetteville and confirmed forty-eight people, the first recorded confirmations in North Carolina.

THE FIRST BISHOP

IN 1823 JOHN STARK RAVENSCROFT was elected the first bishop of the new Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina.

Born in 1772 at Blandford in Prince George County, Virginia, young Ravenscroft was sent to classical schools in Scotland and Northumberland and returned to Virginia at the age of sixteen to study law at the College of William and Mary. After his marriage to Anne Spotswood Burwell in 1792, he bought a plantation in Lunenburg County and for eighteen years lived the life of a slave-holding planter. "Few were more conspicuous than he on the race-course, at the card-table, or around the cock-pit."

At the age of thirty-eight he began to read the Bible and joined the Republican Methodists. He became a lay elder and read sermons to

1823 · *John Stark Ravenscroft is elected and consecrated as the first bishop of the new diocese.*

congregations on vacant Sundays. He paused briefly to consider affiliation with the Presbyterians, but finally settled on the Episcopal Church. Made deacon at Monumental Church in Richmond in 1817, he was later ordained priest in St. George's Church, Fredericksburg. After the death of his first wife, he married Sarah Buford of Lunenburg County and settled with her near Boydtown, Virginia, on a plantation he named "Makeshift." He became rector of St. James's, Mecklenburg County, where he remained until he was elected bishop.

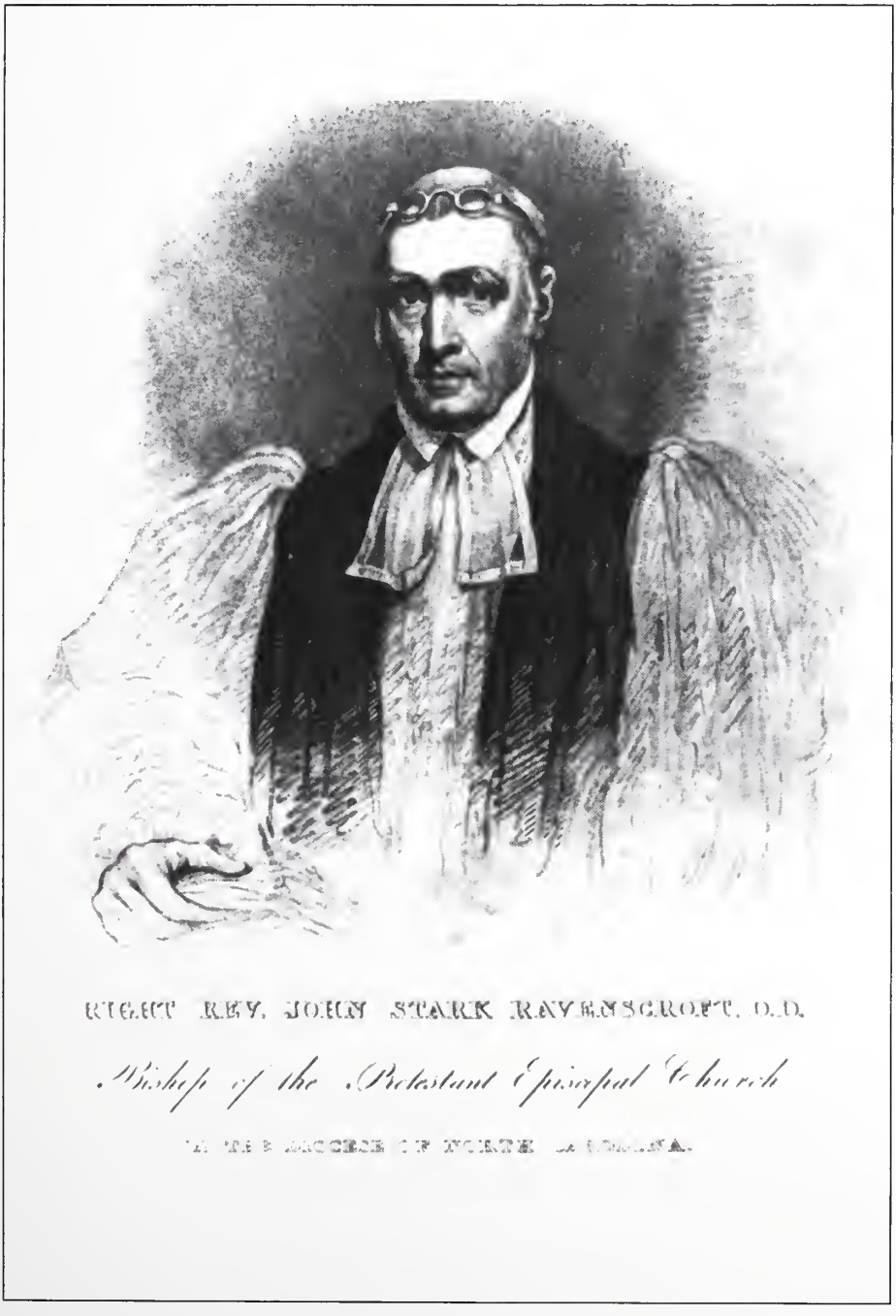
It has been noted that Mr. Ravenscroft "preached a strict, unbending doctrine." After his consecration as bishop in Philadelphia on May 22, 1823, he was invited by the vestry of Christ Church, Raleigh, to serve as part-time rector there, to supplement his meager salary of $750 per year. At approximately the same time, both the University of North Carolina and Columbia College in New York conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

He began his visitations to the Episcopal congregations of the state in 1824, and was exceedingly well received, as the words of Thomas Ruffin, a Hillsborough attorney, attest:

> "If he be not a pure & humble Christian, his life & feeling must be greatly at variance with his precepts. I think I never heard our Religion preached in greater Gospel Purity. There was no new-fangled notion, no metaphysical subtlety, no effort to draw off the attention of the hearers from devotion to the Deity & make the Preacher the object to be considered."

Growth and Renewal of the Diocese

Although he was not directly affliliated with St. Paul's, Bishop Ravenscroft's influence in directing the course of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina cannot be overlooked, and the growth and renewal that came to St. Paul's shortly after his seven years of service may be understood in the context of his beliefs and actions. His mission was, in his own words, "to promote the Anglican cause" in North Carolina, and to do so by uniting in mind and spirit the Episcopalians of the state.



John Stark Ravenscroft, Bishop of North Carolina, 1823–30

COURTESY OF NC DIVISION OF ARCHIVES & HISTORY

1824 · Bishop Ravenscroft sets forth a plan for reviving the diocese.

Bishop Ravenscroft wasted no time in starting his efforts to set a new tone for the diocese. His philosophy was epitomized in his sermon in Williamsboro, on the first day of the 1824 Convention. As Dr. Lemmon reports, "After tracing the Catholic and Apostolic character of the church, identifying the Episcopal Church in North Carolina as a 'branch of the true vine,' the bishop laid down a five-point plan for revival":

> (i) "Holiness...in ourselves and in our families"—to counteract the general opinion that Episcopalians were lax in piety;
>
> (ii) "Observance and cultivation of family religion"—as an antidote to the neglect of the instruction of children and servants;
>
> (iii) Reserving "pecuniary means ... for the wants of our own communion" rather than contributing to others out of misdirected "equal regard for all denominations";
>
> (iv) "Steadfast and uniform adherence to the liturgy and office of the Church, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer";
>
> (v) Preaching and instructing in the "doctrines of the cross" and "other points of edification ... particularly that of the distinctive character of the Church."

Six hundred copies of his remarks delivered in Williamsboro were printed, more than sufficient to provide one to every church family in the state. The bishop's focus on a return to family worship and education, his adherence to the Prayer Book, and his statements that the Episcopal Church was an institution clearly distinct in belief and practice from other denominations and deserving of members' exclusive support had a profound effect.

Bishop Ravenscroft thereafter devoted his energies to the support of his five-point plan. He sought to add clergymen ("my boys" as he called them) to the diocese, and to replace those who had died or left the ministry as a result of their disagreements with his administration. He endorsed the General Seminary of New York as the institution most appropriate for their education. He insisted upon ordination of

clergy and confirmation of church members. He objected to the newly formed Bible Society's determination to distribute Bibles "without note or comment," and advocated instead, "... with the word of God, send them the Church and its ministers, and the sacraments of God."

Bishop Ravenscroft emphasizes the unique character of the Episcopal Church.

Determined to bolster the unique character of the Episcopal Church and adherence to its doctrines, and to bring former Anglicans back from Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran affiliations, he was convinced that the tacit admission of the validity of all denominations and sects "weakens [Episcopalians] as a body, strengthens the ranks of our adversaries, and ... weakens the cause of true religion." Bishop Ravenscroft considered Moravians alone among Protestant denominations a body of Christian confessors, episcopally derived and constituted.

In his third year as bishop, John Stark Ravenscroft was faced with the challenge of visiting in a period of only twenty-six weeks, twenty-four congregations scattered throughout an area 350 miles long east to west, and 220 miles wide north to south. This requirement, coupled with an increasing burden of correspondence, deprived him of the opportunity to make personal acquaintance of his flock, a matter he considered essential. At that time he gained the help of Francis Lister Hawks, who assisted him in his travels. But in 1826 Bishop Ravenscroft told the Convention that he could no longer serve in the dual roles of rector and bishop, and asked to be relieved of his duties at Christ Church.

In 1828, in failing health, his personal estate exhausted, Bishop Ravenscroft accepted a call from St. John's, Williamsboro, to become rector there, believing a smaller parish to be more manageable. In 1829, following the death of his wife a few months earlier, his salary was increased to $1,000 per annum, thus allowing him to relinquish his duties in Williamsboro. Further subscriptions were sought to support the bishop. In that same year, however, Bishop Ravenscroft wrote that "nothing really efficient" could be done. "Before the whole of the new subscription will be available, the probability is very strong that I shall be removed from you. Every year has given its warning to my decaying body—and this last, the loudest."

He died on March 5, 1830, at the age of 58, and was buried beneath the chancel of Christ Church in Raleigh. On December 5, 2000, during an extensive renovation of Christ Church, a burial vault was discovered and confirmed to be his. Granite blocks had been laid on top of the crypt, with rough-hewn sides turned upward, smooth sides down. This "upside-down" installation may indicate that the crypt was repositioned at some point—although still within the chancel area—perhaps to protect it during a fire. The form of the body, wrapped in a shroud and facing east, was visible only from the torso down. There were few obvious traces of wood, suggesting that no coffin was used, yet there is evidence indicating the use of ropes to lower a coffin into the tomb.

Bishop Ravenscroft's life and teachings establish important principles for the Episcopal Church.

Bishop Ravenscroft, said to stand six feet tall, with "a deep voice and a stern, sometimes harsh, demeanor," was a remarkable man who left a considerable legacy. Perhaps most significant among his many accomplishments on behalf of the Church was his success in helping North Carolina Episcopalians overcome an important psychological hurdle: in the words of historian Dr. Lemmon, "the realization that the Diocese, rather than the parish, was the vital unit in Church organization, that the bishop was chief pastor of the flock, and that the Convention had authority to legislate for the Church throughout the Diocese." In addition, many of those who were attracted to the priesthood by Bishop Ravenscroft's loyalty to Christian principles and the distinctive doctrines of the Church became bishops in their own right—in Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, the Southwest, and "the Indian Territory."

In securing a full-time episcopate for North Carolina, Bishop Ravenscroft had accomplished his mission, at great personal cost.

THE REVEREND JOHN AVERY

MEANWHILE, ST. PAUL'S HAD SECURED a new minister, John Avery of Conway, Massachusetts. Mr. Avery had attended Williams College,

where he roomed with William Cullen Bryant, later to become a poet and journalist of note. Avery was graduated from Yale in 1813 and took charge of the Edenton Academy a year later. Although bred a Congregationalist, he was attracted to the Episcopal Church and was ordained a deacon by Bishop Kemp of Maryland in October, 1817. He was among those in attendance at the Convention in New Bern in April of that year, and shortly thereafter assumed duties at St. Paul's in addition to his work at the Academy.

John Avery, Rector of St. Paul's, 1818–35

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

In 1833 the University of North Carolina conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He served St. Paul's until 1835, when he moved with his family to Greensboro, Alabama, to serve as rector of St. Paul's and St. John's in the Prairies.

In January, 1837, aboard the steamer *Medora*, Dr. Avery died suddenly while returning to Greensboro from a trip to "lay in winter stores." His wife, the former Nancy Paine of Edenton, received the news of his death in a letter from the clerk of the *Medora*:

> "I scarcely know in what manner to communicate to you the melancholy intelligence of the sudden and great loss you have sustained in the decease of your much respected and generally beloved husband, the Rev'd. John Avery, who retired to his bed at an early hour on the night of the 17th in apparently as good health as when he left Mobile, and was found in the morning to have relinquished his claims on earth for the sure anticipations of a bright and glorious reward in heaven."

He was buried in Greensboro, Alabama. The grave of his infant son can be found in Edenton in St. Paul's churchyard.

John Avery is remembered as a quiet and humble man. In a letter to her husband, Ebenezer, in 1826, Ann Blount Pettigrew questioned Dr. Avery's ability to handle his congregation in Edenton, which she referred to as "a sink of vice." It was her view that he had "too much milk & water composition to reform the profligate—they ought to have the eloquence of a Demosthenes & the sword of the Turk to reform them."

Dr. Avery was succeeded in 1836 by the Reverend William D. Cairns, who stayed at St. Paul's for only a year before being appointed rector of Trinity Church in Columbus, Georgia, where he remained until 1850.

ST. PAUL'S IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The Exterior of the Church

DURING THE MINISTRIES of Dr. Avery and Mr. Cairns, the exterior of the church of St. Paul's was much the same as it appears today: a rectangular building constructed of brick. No cross adorned the steeple, however, until the late nineteenth century. St. Paul's had a bell in the belfry at that time (no documents can be found to record its origin or the exact date of its installation). Blinds flanked the windows on the outside as a protection against storms and summer heat; the black iron "shutter dogs" that secured the blinds against the brick walls can still be seen today.

Interior Layout

Inside St. Paul's, as at present, three galleries flanked the north, south, and west walls. There is no indication until some time after 1837 that these were "slave galleries," reserved for the black servants of local planters. An organ, installed by 1826, was situated in the west gallery, where the present organ pipes are located. As today, the central aisle, narrowed during the 1806–7 improvements made by William Nichols, ran from the tower to the chancel, and two narrow aisles flanked the far sides of the pews. The Ten Commandments, the Lord's

Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed were set at the east end of the church (the chancel wall) "where the people may best see and read the same." But other things inside the church were quite different.

Seating

During the period from 1817 to 1837 large "double" or "square" pews were arranged along each side of a central aisle. Members of the congregation sat around the sides of the pews. Only the individuals seated on the west side of the "box" faced the chancel. Like nearly all churches of the period, St. Paul's had a policy of renting pews to produce revenue for general maintenance. The practice was initiated by the vestry in 1812 and remained in effect until shortly after the War between the States. Benches were probably stacked at the back, inside the church, and set in the middle of the central aisle as needed, to seat "strangers" and those without regular seats. There would have been room to pass at each side. The floor of the church was all on one level. The apse floor at that time was not elevated and therefore required no steps for access.

The Eucharist

The communion table (a simple table, unlike the present altar) was set behind the chancel railing, with its end, rather than a side, placed just below the apse window. Its placement at a perpendicular angle within the chancel (*i.e.*, in direct alignment with the central aisle) may be attributed to the influence of the Puritans in England. When, in the mid-seventeenth century, the government of Oliver Cromwell established the Commonwealth—an administration most influenced by the Protestants of western Europe—a common effort in Anglican churches was to eliminate church furnishings considered to be vestiges of Roman Catholicism. Altars were therefore replaced with simple tables set with narrow ends facing east and west, to remove the priest from his position as the focal point of the church, and also, possibly, to accommodate a greater number of communicants in a small space.

Communicants knelt on the south side of the table, in some cases in a semi-circle, facing the rector, who stood on the north side to preside at the communion service. It is for this reason that rectors, including Clement Hall at St. Paul's, are buried beneath the north side of the chancels in the churches where they served.

Instruction

The pulpit and reading desk stood at the head of the aisle on its right side. The reading desk was built on the front of the pulpit platform, so that the pulpit stood above the reading desk. Whether the pulpit had a canopy or "sounding board" to project the rector's voice is unknown.

In 1828, to ensure that the congregation might see more clearly services that took place at the altar, the vestry of St. Paul's "ordered that the Chancel of the Church be so enlarged & the Pulpit & Reading desk be so moved back, that the railing of the Chancel may be in front of the Reading Desk." No record remains to indicate that construction was ever commenced.

According to one writer of the time, "Whoever is acquainted with the size and structure of the old chancels of most of the Churches will readily believe from their very contracted dimensions, that but few were expected to kneel at them." In some Episcopal churches of North Carolina at the time, the offerings were neither "presented" nor "received," but merely placed on the floor at the front of the main aisle and removed after the service.

Baptism

Records of the time offer little help in determining the type and location of the baptismal font at St. Paul's in the early nineteenth century. Early North Carolina churches had no fixed tradition with respect to fonts, and contemporary descriptions rarely mention them. Dr. Lemmon observes, "In all likelihood, basins were more common than fixed fonts, and baptisms were probably performed in the chancel rather than near the church door." By 1820 administration of Holy Baptism in private homes had begun to be discouraged. Immersion was practiced when that mode of baptism was preferred; on at least one occasion, in fact, Bishop Ravenscroft baptized an adult in Edenton Bay.

The Communion Table

Decoration and ornamentation of the church were of the simplest sort. The communion table of the typical North Carolina church of the period, if covered at all, had "a carpet of altar cloth, which normally went over all four sides, either fitting closely, or falling in folds at the corners... The most popular color was crimson."

With the exception of Communion services, the altar was

unadorned. Candles were never placed on the communion table, except for lighting at night; nor was there a cross. When the Eucharist was to be celebrated (once each quarter and whenever possible on Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday), the altar was covered with a fair linen cloth and set with the paten, chalice, flagon, and alms basin. The bread, baked by a member of the congregation, was placed on the paten, and the wine, made by a parishioner from grapes of his own vineyard, was poured into the chalice. The communion vessels were then covered by a napkin in preparation for the commencement of the service. At one end of the altar was a cushion with a service book and markers.

Altar Decoration

The kneelers at St. Paul's were covered in red carpet, scraps left over from parlor rugs, all different in shade and pattern. These kneelers remained in use at St. Paul's until 1949.

Kneelers

Candles were used for lighting the church, although in the winter months Evening Prayer was typically held in the afternoon and therefore required no illumination. In 1832 the vestrymen of St. Paul's passed a resolution of thanks to Miss Penelope J. D. Skinner for the gift, in memory of her mother, of a chandelier and a lamp for the pulpit reading desk. In 1833 it was resolved that the spare sconces belonging to the church (believed to be seven pairs of single lamps and two pairs of double ones) be presented to Christ Church, Elizabeth City. These had been attached to the columns, as lamps still are today.

Lighting

Flowers were not placed St. Paul's, nor in any Episcopal church in North Carolina, until after the War between the States.

Choirs and "singers" of the period wore no vestments, and the vestments of the clergy were different from those now familiar to us. Stoles and cassocks were unknown. The officiating minister wore a black preaching gown and white bands known as "Geneva bands" (as the portrait of Charles Pettigrew on page 45 shows). The clergymen of St. Paul's were held strictly accountable for any failure to wear the usual vestments when conducting services.

Vestments

The 1789 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* was in use when the Church was organized in North Carolina. The rubrics indicated that

Texts

the usual Sunday morning service was to be full morning prayer followed by the litany and ante-communion without interruption. The selection of psalms and lessons stipulated in the prayer book was mandatory. The sermon could be based on any text the preacher chose.

Music

Music of the quality and variety found in the Episcopal church today was unknown in the first decades of the life of the diocese. Twenty-seven hymns (without tunes) had been adopted by the General Convention of 1789. To these thirty more hymns had been added in 1808, and by 1826 the number of hymns had increased to 212. (Today the hymnal contains 288 chants and 720 hymns.)

The Organ

In 1820 a committee of church women made efforts to raise money to buy an organ for St. Paul's by canvassing individual members of the congregation. According to legend, their request prompted a childless member, Joseph B. Skinner, to make a promise: "Ladies, pray that I may have a son and heir; if our prayers are answered, I will give the organ." His wish was granted, a son was born, and the church received the organ. The students of Edenton Academy had a half-day holiday on the day the organ arrived in Edenton. With crowds of onlookers they hurried to the wharf, and were disappointed to see only boxes and packing cases and not the organ on deck, playing a tune, as they had imagined. The installation of the organ in the church was cause for great celebration.

A CONTROVERSIAL BISHOP

THE UNTIMELY DEATH of Bishop Ravenscroft on March 5, 1830, caused genuine sorrow throughout the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country and was a deep loss to the Diocese of North Carolina. In his place, at a Special Convention held in 1831 at Christ Church, Raleigh, clergymen nominated the Reverend Levi Silliman Ives as Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. Mr. Ives, aged thirty-one at the time, accepted the position just five days later, on May 26, 1831.

1831 · Levi Silliman Ives is appointed bishop.

Levi Silliman Ives, Bishop of North Carolina, 1831–52

PAINTED BY JAMES HART, 1845 · COURTESY OF ST. MARY'S SCHOOL, RALEIGH, NC

Thus began his controversial ministry, which ended twenty-one years later in his defection from the Episcopal Church and his conversion to Roman Catholicism.

Born in Connecticut in 1797, and reared and trained as a Presbyterian, Mr. Ives became a convert to the Episcopal Church in 1819 and entered the General Theological Seminary. There he studied under Bishop Hobart of New York, the recognized leader of High Churchmanship in America. Mr. Ives later married Bishop Hobart's daughter.

In 1832 the Diocese of North Carolina was one of the conservative High Church dioceses of the time, and in the early years of his episcopate Mr. Ives had the support of the General Convention. He successfully increased the number of parishes and clergy in the state, promoted Christian education by championing the effort to establish diocesan schools, and baptized and held services for blacks—in the Edenton area at Pettigew Chapel (now St. David's Church near Creswell), and at the Collins plantation near Lake Phelps (then known as Lake Scuppernong). Although his ministry appears to have been focused primarily in the piedmont and western regions of the state, his visits to the Albemarle were noted from time to time. Mr. Ives consecrated St. Paul's on December 1, 1839, and in August, 1850, he consecrated All Saints Chapel (in what is now the parish of St. Andrew's) at Nags Head.

December 1, 1839 · St. Paul's is consecrated.

In time, however, the bishop's insistence on reintroducing practices, rituals, and theological ideas that were generally considered to be controversial brought him under the bitter disapproval of leaders of the diocese. Of great concern were his support of confession, his endorsement of the "mission station" at Valle Crucis (thought to be an attempt to establish a monastic order) and his resistance to "the right of a convention to affirm what a diocese holds, or what the clergy may or may not teach."

Bishop Ives's High Church leanings cause growing concern.

In 1848, suffering from a dangerous fever, Mr. Ives was confined to his bed for nearly two months in the home of Josiah Collins, Jr., an Edenton businessman and owner of considerable property, who had a

great interest in the education and confirmation of slaves. Attempts were subsequently made at the Collins residence to prove that Mr. Ives's illness had affected his mind, a conclusion that Mr. Collins later corroborated.

1852 · *Bishop Ives converts to Roman Catholicism.*

Despite his efforts to clear himself of charges that his policies tended to blur important distinctions between Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, Bishop Ives resigned his episcopate in August, 1852, during a trip to Rome, where he became a Roman Catholic.

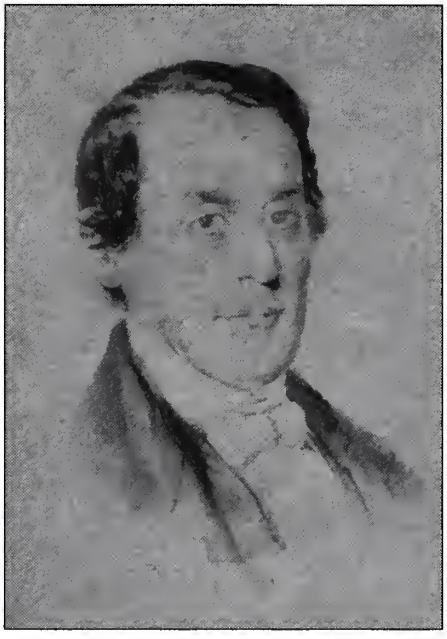
The news soon reached Edenton. On January 1, 1853, James Cathcart Johnston of Hayes wrote to James Johnston Pettigrew:

> "I presume you have heard the report of the Bishop going over to the Romish church. Our little clergyman Parkman announced it in church fr[om] the desk (there is no pulpit now in church) on Christmas day and then read the funeral service over him as dead. . . [Mr. Ives] may perhaps go into a monastery. He might as well for he will never be of any use to the Diocese. No person here [has] any confidence in him or his preaching."

On his return to the United States, Mr. Ives served as a leading layman in the organization and support of various Roman Catholic charitable institutions. He died in 1867, at age seventy. In the words of an anonymous writer, "His was a strange and eventful life, devoted throughout to the service of God and humanity, yet torn by varying and conflicting doctrinal beliefs."

THE REVEREND SAMUEL IREDELL JOHNSTON

MEANWHILE, AT ST. PAUL'S the parish had welcomed a new rector, the Reverend Samuel Iredell Johnston. Born in Windsor on December 28, 1806, the son of John Seymour Johnston and his wife Elizabeth Cotten, the year-old Samuel and his sister were sent after their father's death to live with their maternal grandparents on their plantation, Mulberry Grove, in Hertford County.



Samuel Iredell Johnston, Rector of St. Paul's, 1837–62

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

His grandparents were devout Baptists, but Samuel was introduced to the Episcopal Church during frequent visits with his father's brother, Governor Samuel Johnston, at his plantation, The Hermitage, on the Roanoke River, and with other members of the family in Edenton.

Young Samuel graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1826 and moved to Northampton County, where he practiced law for a brief period in Jackson. His interest in the Episcopal Church grew, and in 1832 he was admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders. Two years later he was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Ives.

1837 · Samuel Iredell Johnston begins his ministry at St. Paul's.

After serving at Calvary Church in Wadesboro for three years, in 1837 Mr. Johnston was named rector of St. Paul's, Edenton. It was the beginning of a remarkable ministry that lasted until his death, twenty-eight years later. A thorough assessment of Samuel Johnston's ministry is limited by the lack of vestry minutes during his tenure at St. Paul's: records of the years between July 23, 1841, and April 23, 1848, are missing (the reason for their absence is unknown); nor do vestry minutes exist from 1861 through 1865, the years of the War between the States.

A lawyer by training, Samuel Johnston appears to have been a man of great ambition and determination, and while rector of St. Paul's he became widely respected throughout the diocese. He was asked several times to preach at the diocesan convention, he represented North Carolina in the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, and he served on the important diocesan Standing Committee and on boards responsible for establishing a diocesan library and revising canon law. He was one of four clerical representatives selected in 1850

to investigate Bishop Ives's theological views. From 1858 he was usually referred to as "Dr." Johnston, though it has been impossible to discover the institution that may have conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

During his ministry at St. Paul's, Mr. Johnston baptized 1,085 individuals and presented 352 for confirmation. Among his most significant accomplishments was the introduction of daily services at St. Paul's. In addition, it appears that he made efforts to establish a parish school.

Daily services are introduced at St. Paul's.

Known for his work with slaves on local plantations, he encouraged their attendance at St. Paul's. In 1840 the vestry considered a proposal to erect a flight of stairs in the southwest corner of the church, leading to the south gallery, to be allotted for use by black members; and in 1841 they adopted resolutions to allow them the use of the north gallery and considered the matter of a subscription to raise funds to erect a church for them.

Black members are encouraged to join St. Paul's.

Mr. Johnston may be described as one who was either respected and beloved, or respected and feared. In the mid nineteenth century Dr. Edward Warren, a member of the congregation at St. Paul's, described him thus:

> "He was in all respects a model pastor, illustrating alike by precept and example the truth, beauty and excellence of the faith which he professed, devoting himself with unfaltering fidelity to the welfare of his flock and leading a life of perfect holiness and sanctity."

By contrast, the minutes (1851) of the Albemarle Convocation, an association of parish priests of the diocese, record his reaction to their offer to help him establish a parochial school in Edenton:

> "They were informed by the venerable & profound Rector of St. Paul's, that he was fully able & resolved to conduct his own affairs & that neither the Convocation nor their committee were needed nor wanted to aid with their advice on anything else, & that therefore they need not trouble themselves any more about his

business or his parish. After the receipt of this sentence, pronounced with the accustomed & known firmness, & decision, & promptness of the Rector, the committee remained silent, fearing lest any further remarks on the subject might endanger the safety of at least the President of the Convocation."

The congregation grows.

Under Mr. Johnston's care the congregation of St. Paul's grew, despite periods when Mr. Johnston was too ill to serve the needs of his congregation—often for months and, later, years at a time. For thirteen years, partly because of his ill health, Mr. Johnston needed an assistant to help serve an increasing flock of communicants. Three priests served with him during those years: the Reverend Charles Maison (1847–50), the Reverend Charles McDonough Parkman (1851–4), and the Reverend Francis Hilliard (1857–9).

Little is recorded about Charles Maison. It is known that he was ordained deacon by Bishop Ives on October 17, 1847, at St. Luke's in New York, and that he was ordained priest by Bishop Ives at St. Paul's in Edenton on April 22, 1849, the first priest ever ordained in the church. In 1852 Mr. Maison is recorded as rector of St. Thomas's Church in Windsor, North Carolina, where he served for five years. For the next twenty years he appears to have been in the Philadelphia area.

April 22, 1849 · The first ordination takes place at St. Paul's.

Charles McDonough Parkman was ordained to the diaconate at St. Paul's on St. Mark's Day, April 25, 1851, in the second ordination to take place at St. Paul's. He is distinguished as one who did more than any other individual to preserve and present the history of St. Paul's parish at that time. Mr. Parkman wrote the first history of the parish, which he delivered in 1851 as part of a sermon celebrating 150 years of the parish and the work of the SPG. At the 200th anniversary of the parish in 1901, as principal speaker, he reviewed the history that he had compiled some fifty years earlier. The first twenty-five years of the oldest remaining register of the parish—beginning with the organization of the diocese in 1826—are in his writing, copied from the register (later lost) which went back to the beginning of the parish.

1851 · The first history of the parish is written.

Mr. Parkman presented to the church two silver vases still used for flowers on the altar. One is engraved with a dedication in Latin in memory of St. Mark, a reference to the feast day on which Mr. Parkman's ordination took place.

After leaving St. Paul's, he served briefly at Christ Church in Elizabeth City, then in Maryland, and ultimately in Red Bank, New Jersey in 1875.

The third of Samuel Johnston's assistants, the Reverend Francis Hilliard, married Mr. Johnston's eldest daughter, and later returned to serve the parish as rector after his father-in-law's death.

Charles McDonough Parkman, Assistant Rector, in 1852

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

IMPROVEMENTS TO THE CHURCH BUILDING

IN 1860, TO ACCOMMODATE the expanding congregation, the vestry began to give serious consideration to enlarging the church by adding transepts on each side, thus making it cruciform in shape, or to constructing a new church building.

Meanwhile, some notable alterations and additions were made. During Mr. Johnston's tenure, the Rector's Study was built on the western boundary of the churchyard. A one-room structure, believed to have been erected in the 1850s, it is first mentioned as "the office" in the vestry minutes of December, 1870. In that year the "office" porch was removed; otherwise the little building retains its original appearance today. Significant changes were also made to the chancel of the church.

The Rector's Study is built within the church grounds.

The interior of St. Paul's, 1879

COURTESY OF ELIZABETH VANN MOORE

As the architectural historian Thomas Butchko reports, "In 1848, oak reredos, arched altar rail, and chancel furniture (altar, sanctuary chair, bishop's chair, litany desk, and chancel stall) were installed, following designs by Frank Wills, an Englishman working in New York as the official architect of the New York Ecclesiological Society." Recognizing that Gothic Revival elements, popular at the time, would be discordant with the classical design of the interior of St. Paul's as established by William Nichols in the early years of the nineteenth century, in his designs for the chancel Wills chose to follow the rounded arch and ceiling of the apse, rather than to introduce a pointed Gothic arch.

In his report of 1857 to the diocese, Mr. Johnston noted that his church had been "greatly adorned and beautified by the addition of a chancel window" executed by Owen Doremus of New Jersey. The window had been exhibited in New York and declared to be "the finest specimen of its size of window-staining ever executed in this country."

1857 · *The Collins family sponsors improvements to the chancel.*

These improvements to the chancel were contributed by members of the Collins family of Edenton and Somerset plantation. The inscription at the base of the stained glass window, obscured by the reredos, reads, "In honor of God and to the memory of Josiah Collins through whose efforts mainly this church when in ruins was restored. Died May 19th, 1819." The reference to the church "when in ruins" refers to the early 1800s, when St. Paul's, like so many American churches of the Anglican communion, reflected the devastating effects of the American Revolution.

THE CIVIL WAR

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES marked the end of Mr. Johnston's ministry. In February, 1862, he and his family retreated to Chapel Hill where his son-in-law, the Reverend Francis Hilliard, was serving as rector of the Chapel of the Cross. Poor health prevented Mr. Johnston's return to his parish at the end of the war, and he died on August 12, 1865. His long absence and the disaster of the war paralyzed the parish at the very peak of its development. Men of the congregation joined the army and the records of the church were left blank.

1862 · *The "St. Paul" cannon is forged from the church bell.*

In 1862 the church bell of St. Paul's was given to a local artillery battery and sent to the Tredegar Ironworks in Richmond, Virginia, to be cast into cannon for the Confederacy. The "St. Paul" was among four cannon forged from bells in Edenton and Columbia, North Carolina, for use by what came to be known as "the Edenton Bell Battery." The cannon were lost during the war, the St. Paul captured at the battle of Town Creek at the gates of Orton Plantation near Wilmington.

An effort to find the St. Paul was launched by volunteers in 1998. After two years of research the cannon was discovered at Old Fort Niagara in New York. The captured St. Paul had been shipped from Wilmington to the federal Watervliet Arsenal on the Hudson River, where it remained until the 1930s. Transferred to Old Fort Niagara, the

St. Paul was presented there as an example of the artillery used during the French and Indian War. When cannon of the correct period were acquired, the St. Paul was placed in storage in a warehouse at the fort, where it remained for almost seventy years. In June, 2001 the St. Paul was rediscovered and brought back to Edenton. It can be seen today, mounted on its new carriage, adjacent to the Barker House at the south end of Broad Street, overlooking Edenton Bay.

Captain William Badham, Jr., the commanding officer of the Edenton Bell Battery, and his second in command, Lieutenant John Meredith Jones, are buried in St. Paul's churchyard, along with at least twenty additional members of the Battery.

Bishop Thomas Atkinson

Bishop Atkinson's strong leadership promotes church unity during and after the War between the States.

During the latter half of Samuel Iredell Johnston's ministry, in 1853, a remarkable man, Thomas Atkinson, succeeded Levi Silliman Ives as the third bishop of North Carolina. Bishop Atkinson is perhaps best known for his tenacity in the defense of his position regarding the Episcopal church during the years leading up to the War between the States. He believed that it was imperative for the church to remain one body in Christ, and that any division of the church into separate institutions of the north and south was ultimately wrong.

Joseph Blount Cheshire, bishop of North Carolina in the early twentieth century, captured the spirit of Bishop Atkinson:

> "[He] occupied a somewhat unique position among our Southern Bishops in his attitude towards the difficult problems presented to the Church, both at the beginning and at the close of the War between the States. His position was not always understood, nor did his course at the time command universal approval. But it was his power of seeing clearly, and of reasoning accurately, amid the clouds and clamor of those perilous times, which, more than any other single influence, brought the Church in peace and unity and unfeigned charity through trials which otherwise might have split it into discordant and hostile communions."

Thomas Atkinson, Bishop of North Carolina, 1853–81

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

Bishop Cheshire wrote further that Thomas Atkinson, holding to his belief that the Church could not be divided to reflect the schism between north and south, "dared to seem to stand alone, ... contentedly and patiently," feeling sure that "the truth would in the end bring all together again in pursuit of their great and holy purpose."

Thomas Atkinson was born on his father's plantation in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, attended Yale College, and graduated from Hampden-Sydney in 1825, with top honors in his class. After eight years of practicing law in Winchester, Virginia, in 1836 he decided to enter the ministry. After ordination he served at Christ Church, Norfolk, and upon advancement to the priesthood he served as rector for the next sixteen years at St. Paul's, Norfolk, and at churches in Lynchburg and Baltimore.

During this period he was twice elected bishop of Indiana, but declined because he disliked abolitionism, and in 1853 he rejected the nomination to become bishop of South Carolina because of his dislike of slavery. When the call came for him to serve as bishop of North Carolina, however, he accepted, and was consecrated at the General Convention in New York on October 17, 1853.

As the Civil War approached, Bishop Atkinson provided enlightened and moderate leadership for North Carolina's Episcopalians, promoting education and urging the religious instruction of slaves. The school he founded for free blacks in Raleigh became St. Augustine's College.

While he opposed secession of the southern states as much as he opposed the division of the church into separate institutions, north and south, when secession came he put the Episcopal Church in North Carolina in the service of the Confederacy. In 1861, therefore, St. Paul's, like all Episcopal churches of the South, became a part of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America. Meanwhile, Bishop Atkinson persisted in his call for prayer for all Americans and for the restoration of the one church.

Bishop Atkinson's achievements earn him international respect.

His moderation succeeded, and by the end of the war Thomas Atkinson was one of only two bishops in the South to attend the General Convention in Philadephia in October, 1865, and to participate

in plans for the reunification of the church. He was warmly welcomed by his northern compatriots. He continued his work after the war and traveled extensively in Europe. At Cambridge University in England he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

After forty-five years of distinguished service, he died in January, 1881 in Wilmington, a much beloved pastor. His assistant, Theodore Benedict Lyman, succeeded him as bishop of North Carolina that same year. Dr. Lyman was the last bishop to serve the Diocese of North Carolina before the creation of the Diocese of East Carolina, organized in New Bern in 1884.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

THE *JOURNAL OF THE DIOCESE of North Carolina* notes that between 1862 and 1864 the Reverend Henry Skinner, apparently an assistant to Mr. Johnston, made some parochial reports for St. Paul's, signing them as "Rev. H. A. Skinner, Rector." Mr. Skinner, who had been ordained deacon by Bishop Atkinson in Plymouth in 1859 and ordained priest by the Right Reverend R. C. Moore of Virginia, stated that he lived four miles outside of Edenton and consequently could not give the church the attention he felt appropriate. He moved to Hertford in 1864.

In 1865 the Reverend Francis Hilliard moved back to Edenton with his wife and five children to manage the Edenton Academy. He succeeded his father-in-law as rector in April of the following year when, at their first meeting after the war, the vestry agreed to call him to the position.

1866 · *The Reverend Frances Hilliard becomes rector of St. Paul's.*

Mr. Hilliard had been ordained deacon in 1855 by Bishop Atkinson at Christ Church in Raleigh, and priest at St. David's, Scuppernong (now Creswell), in 1857. After his first assignment as Mr. Johnston's assistant at St. Paul's, he moved to Plymouth to assume the rectorship of Grace Church, remaining there for five years, until his calling to the Chapel of the Cross in Chapel Hill. Once back in Edenton, he and his

Frances Hilliard, Rector of St. Paul's, 1866–70

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

family moved in with his mother-in-law, Margaret Ann (Burgwin) Johnston, Samuel I. Johnston's widow, who was then living in the Iredell House.

As rector of St. Paul's in the aftermath of the war, Mr. Hilliard faced a challenging task. In Dr. Johnston's absence, the church had been closed for much of the time during the war years. Money was short. When Mr. Hilliard assumed his duties, $250 was raised for his salary, of which he accepted only $200. A committee was appointed to raise a subscription for heating and lighting the church. Fourteen kerosene oil lamps with globes were installed, six in the central chandelier, four above the chancel, and two with reflectors on each side beneath the galleries.

The vestry books and parish register had been lost, as Mr. Hilliard reported: "They run back to the early part of the last century, and if not recovered, will prove a serious loss, not only to the Parish, but to the Church at large. Without a Register, it is difficult to arrive at an exact list of Communicants." The register has never been found.

The rectory was unfit for habitation, and the minister and his family endured much illness. In a letter written in 1867 his mother-in-law reported, " [Mr. Hilliard's] family suffered so much last summer from sickeness that he would have left for some healthier place, but he has become so interested in his work in the parrish and so attached to the people that [he] has given up the idea of leaving."

Indeed, under Mr. Hilliard's guidance, and with the frequent help of his assistant, the Reverend Edward W. Gilliam, the people of St.

Paul's began to return. In his report to the diocese after the war, Mr. Hilliard wrote, "Most of the members of the congregation, who were absent during the war, have returned, rejoiced to find the beautiful and venerable Church quite uninjured, and the town, resuming, by degrees, its wonted appearance."

St. Paul's Church begins to recover after the war.

The same sentiment is echoed in an observation by Mr. Hilliard's mother-in-law, "Our old Church is one of the few things of the South that remain unscathed by the war. Some of the children said that the walls looked too hallowed for the rude soldiers even to touch them."

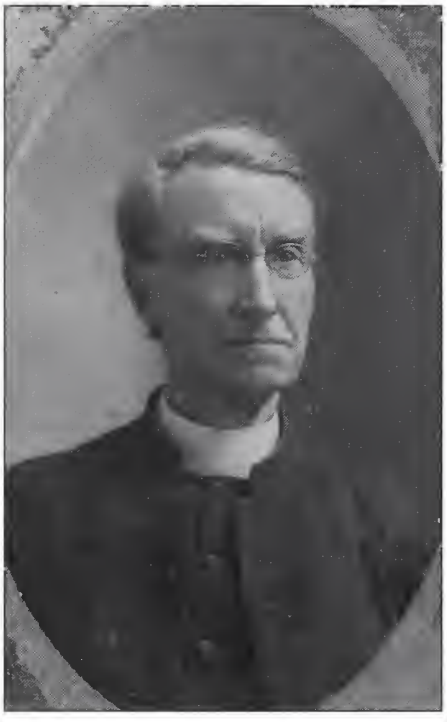
Mr. Hilliard resigned his position as rector of St. Paul's in 1870, owing to "domestic circumstances," probably family illness. He later served in various parishes, including Cheyenne, Wyoming (1875); Pocomoke City, Maryland (1880); St. Paul's, Monroe, North Carolina (1898); and Oxford, North Carolina (1902). In 1910, Bishop Cheshire reported to the diocesan convention that the "faithful, earnest, and self-sacrificing" Mr. Hilliard had been transferred to the Diocese of Tennessee.

Continued Efforts Toward Reconstruction

Frances Hilliard was succeeded by Angelo Ames Benton, who served St. Paul's as rector from some time in 1870 until 1874. The records for this period are sketchy and little is known about his ministry. Contemporary writers typically describe Mr. Benton's experience at St. Paul's as "unhappy." His interests appear to have been in research and writing rather than in parochial ministry.

Mr. Benton was born in 1837 on the island of Crete, the son of the Reverend George Benton, who was serving at the time as an Episcopal missionary in Greece. In 1845 the elder Benton settled in North Carolina, doing missionary work at Rockfish near Fayetteville, in Cumberland County, until his death in 1862.

Young Benton received the degrees of B.A. (1856) and M.A. (1860) from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Atkinson and assigned to Trinity Church, Scotland Neck, North Carolina, to assist Dr. Joseph Blount Cheshire, particularly



Angelo Ames Benton
Rector of St. Paul's,
1870–74

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

with the chapel that had been established for use by slaves of the plantation owners along the banks of the Roanoke River. For two years after his ordination as priest in 1863, Mr. Benton served his late father's congregation at Rockfish. After five years' service as rector of St. Timothy's in Wilson, he was called to Edenton in 1870, for his short ministry there.

By 1883 Mr. Benton had secured a position as professor of Greek and Latin at the College of Delaware. In that year he compiled and published a reference book, the *Church Encyclopedia*, which traced the colonial antecedents of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina.

He later went to the University of the South at Sewanee, where he became professor of dogmatic theology. In 1888 Trinity College awarded him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He returned briefly to parish service at two churches in the diocese of Springfield, Illinois. In 1890 he prepared an edition of the works of Virgil for use in schools. He died in September, 1912, in Crafton, Pennsylvania.

1874–76 · St. Paul's finds it difficult to attract a new rector.

Upon the Reverend A. A. Benton's departure in 1874, the vestry of St. Paul's began an immediate effort to secure a new rector, calling nine priests in total. Despite their diligence, however, St. Paul's had no minister for two years. In March, 1876 the Right Reverend Thomas McKinnon, D.D., advised the vestry to call the Reverend William Wilberforce Lord to the position, the ninth priest in twenty-four months to be called to serve as rector of St. Paul's.

Mr. Lord was born in Madison County, New York, in 1819. Between college and seminary he spent four years in the Pacific, apparently hoping the sea air would improve his health. In 1848 he took orders as a deacon in the Episcopal Church and two years later was ordained priest. After holding a few minor posts in the South, including one in Baltimore where he served during a deadly epidemic of cholera, in 1854 he was made rector of Christ Church in Vicksburg, Mississippi.

When the War between the States broke out, Mr. Lord continued as rector of Christ Church and distinguished himself as chaplain of the first Mississippi Brigade during the siege of Vicksburg. During the siege his possessions were destroyed, including his library, reputed to be the largest and most scholarly private collection in the "Southwest." Mr. Lord, a prisoner of war, was allowed at the end of the war to return to Vicksburg, as a result of General Ulysees S. Grant's intervention on his behalf. In 1870 he led some of the remaining members of his Christ Church congregation to form a new parish and build a new church, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Vicksburg. An 1876 entry in the diocesan journal refers to him as "D.D.", an honorary title long supposed to have been conferred by the University of Alabama but recently traced to Auburn Theological Seminary, which is not an Episcopal institution.

On April 19, 1876, Mr. Lord visited Edenton for a meeting with the vestry of St. Paul's, who offered him $1,000 per year for his services, to which the surplus from pew rents, after contingent expenses, was to be added. According to the diocesan records, he did not accept the offer of the vestry at once, but by May 8, 1876, he was serving as rector of St. Paul's, as the vestry minutes indicate. They further document, on June 28, 1876, acceptance of his letter of resignation. Mr. Lord had served as rector of St. Paul's for less than two months.

1874–76 · *A lay reader conducts services while the search for a rector continues.*

In the months that followed, the parish was regularly and very acceptably served by the lay reader, before the arrival of a priest who came to be revered, perhaps more than any other rector of St. Paul's, as the true shepherd of his flock.

THE REVEREND ROBERT BRENT DRANE

BORN DECEMBER 5, 1851, in Wilmington, North Carolina, Robert Brent Drane was the only child of Robert Brent Drane (1800–62), and his second wife, Catherine Caroline Parker of Halifax, widow of John H. Hargrave of Lexington.

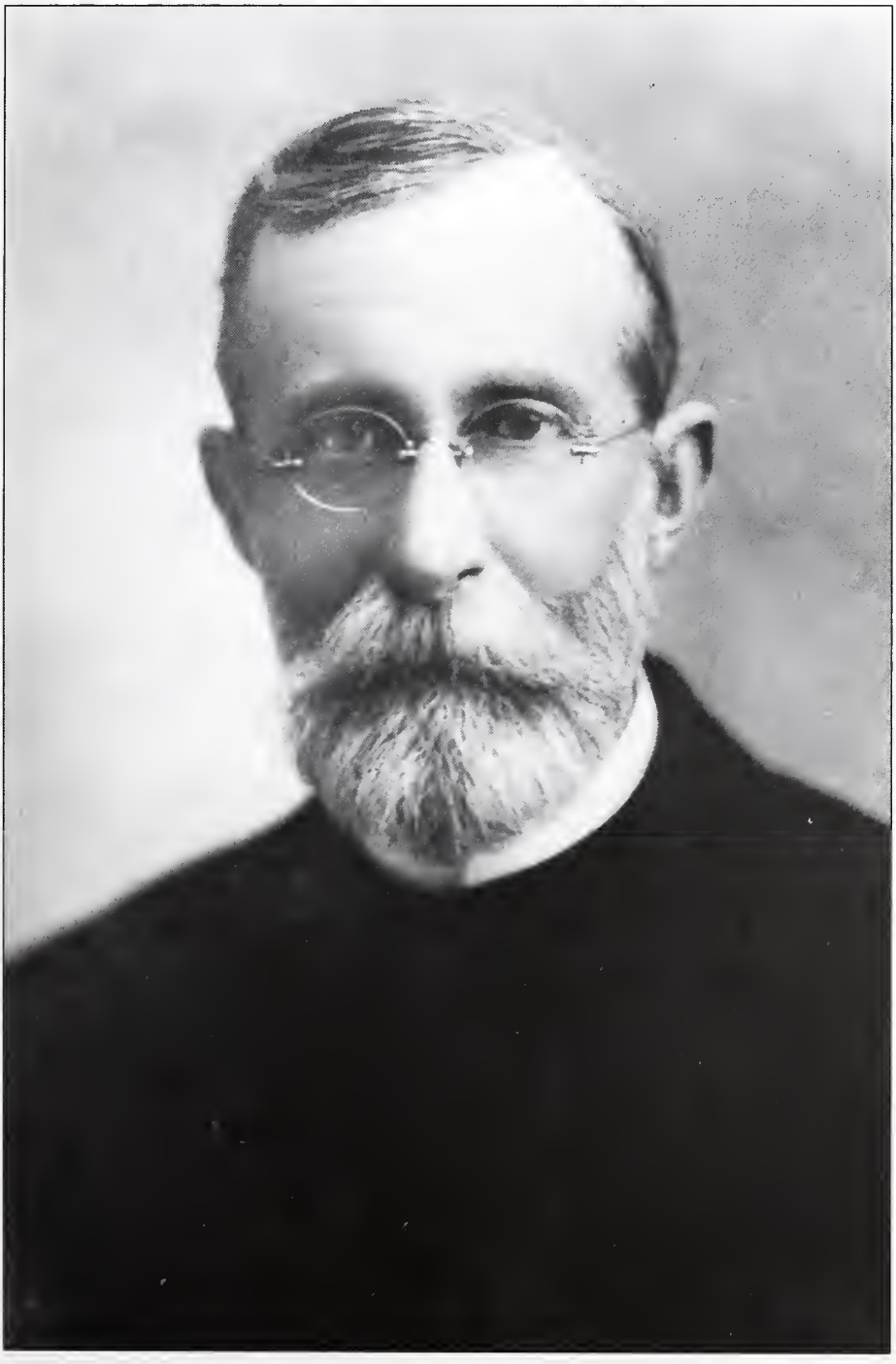
The elder Robert Drane, reared at Wilderness Plantation in St. George's County, Maryland, was a graduate of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, and Harvard College. Ordained priest in 1827, he served as rector at St. James's Episcopal Church, Wilmington from 1836 until his death in 1862. Except for a brief period (1833–44) when he assumed the presidency of Shelby College in Kentucky, Dr. Drane was one of the most diligent and respected ministers of the diocese. He died in a yellow fever epidemic while ministering to the sick.

After the death of his father, young Robert Brent Drane was reared in Tarboro in the homes of his uncles, the Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire (father of the later Bishop Cheshire) and Governor Henry Toole Clark. In 1872 he was graduated with a B.A. from St. Stephen's College in Annandale, New York, and became a candidate for the Episcopal ministry at the General Theological Seminary in New York City.

Ordained deacon by Bishop Atkinson on July 1, 1875, he served as an assistant at his father's former church in Wilmington. He was ordained priest at his uncles' church, Calvary Church in Tarboro, on October 28, 1876. Four days later, on November 1, 1876—All Saints' Day—he began his long service as rector of St. Paul's in Edenton.

1876 · Robert Brent Drane begins his long and much-respected service at St. Paul's.

Mr. Drane was married at St. Paul's on December 4, 1878, to Maria Louisa Warren Skinner, daughter of Major Tristrim Lowther Skinner and Eliza Harwood Skinner. They had seven children—four sons and three daughters. Continuing the family tradition in the ministry, their son Frederick Blount, an Episcopal clergyman, was a missionary to Alaska and was appointed archdeacon of the Yukon; he later served as rector of St. Paul's Church, Monroe, and, on retirement, as minister to several mission churches.



Robert Brent Drane, Rector of St. Paul's, 1876–1932

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

St. John the Evangelist Church

The Church of St. John the Evangelist, Edenton

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

1879 · A separate church for black parishioners is built.

Not long after Robert Brent Drane began his ministry at St. Paul's, the first steps were taken to establish a separate church for black members of the parish. On November 27, 1879, after Bishop Atkinson approved the idea of a church for black members of St. Paul's, the diocesan trustees bought a lot at 212 East Church Street for the church. Herbert H. Page, a member of St. Paul's, erected at his own expense "a very neat and attractive church building" on the site, and the Reverend Mr. Drane continued to minister to the congregation.

On April 6, 1881, members of St. John's asked to be given official status as a mission and organized parish, although not self-supporting:

> "To the Rt. Rev'd. Theodore B. Lyman, D.D., Bishop
> of the Diocese of North Carolina.
> "Right Reverend Father in God,
> "We the undersigned residents of Edenton vicinity do hereby make application to you that you organize a mission station to be known as St. John the Evangelist, for the benefit of ourselves and other coloured persons interested in the Church. This movement has the approbation of the Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton."

The request was signed by thirty-one individuals. Bishop Lyman approved the proposal, and the church could therefore be consecrated.

1884 · *The Diocese of East Carolina is created.*

In 1884 the diocese of East Carolina was split from the Diocese of North Carolina, and in the same year, on July 26, the original St. John's church building was severely damaged by "a violent wind storm, a cyclone." Enough of the framework remained to be used as the skeleton of a new structure. The cornerstone of the new church building was laid on July 8, 1885. At that time the building was widened on both sides and connected by a sacristy to the parish hall.

1887 · *St. John the Evangelist Church is consecrated.*

On May 22, 1887, Bishop Watson, first bishop of the Diocese of East Carolina, consecrated St. John the Evangelist Church. He was assisted by former rector the Reverend Francis Hilliard, as well as by the Reverend J. M. Hilliard and the Reverend Robert Brent Drane.

In 1888 J.W. Heritage, as lay reader, began years of service which included his ordination to the diaconate and the priesthood, work in neighboring towns, and the beginning of a parochial school in 1892. The present parish hall, completed in 1902, is believed to be the second school building. The school lasted until the late spring of 1931, when it was merged with the county school system.

The oldest possessions of St. John the Evangelist Church are the original bell, which is now mounted on the grounds; the marble font, which, although damaged by the storm, is still serviceable; the original parish register, including some vestry minutes; and the original deed for the lot.

The Achievements of Robert Brent Drane

During his ministry of fifty-six years Robert Brent Drane performed at St. Paul's the rites for 457 baptisms, 125 marriages, and 307 burials, and he presented for confirmation 315 individuals. As well as helping to organize the Church of St. John the Evangelist, he ministered to missions in Colerain and at Mege post office at Crossroads in northern Chowan County. He also served as priest in charge of Grace Church, Plymouth and of mission churches in Hyde County. He had a part in the erection of a chapel at Nag's Head (now St. Andrew's by

the Sea), and was instrumental in the restoration of St. Thomas's Church at Bath.

In the mid-1890s he arranged for the replacement of the old gambrel-roofed house on Church Street that had served as the rectory by the larger rectory that continues in use today. At the same time he had a smaller house constructed in back of it, on Gale Street, to be occupied by indigent or ill members of the parish. He was further responsible for the building of the parish house in 1926.

Gardening was his passion, and he brought much of his talent to the churchyard of St. Paul's. In the late 1870s he planted the double row of magnolias that border the walkway on the south side of the church with seedlings brought from Calvary Church, Tarboro, where his uncle was rector. He brought from England the ivy that covered the exterior walls of St. Paul's until 1949.

St. Paul's Rectory prior to 1897, sketched from memory, November 1931 by Dr. Drane's son Brent Skinner Drane

COURTESY OF FRANCES DRANE INGLIS

Of the building Brent Drane wrote, "I have found no clue to the date of its erection, though Sauthier's Map of Edenton, June 1769, shows buildings whose plan and location strongly suggest this Rectory, and the Rector's Study, as it now stands."

In 1888 he had the graves of three colonial governors, Henderson Walker, Charles Eden, and Thomas Pollock, and their families, rescued from the encroaching waters of the Albemarle Sound and the Chowan River and placed in St. Paul's churchyard. In 1911 the endangered graves of Joshua Bodley, Stephen Cabarrus, his daughter Henrietta, and his wife were also moved to the churchyard from the Old Fish

Hatchery grounds.

Dr. Drane's interests and influence are widespread.

Robert Brent Drane not only served the needs of his own congregation in Edenton, but also embraced any effort he believed capable of enhancing the welfare of the people of his local community and of his native state of North Carolina. He was a founder of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, which he served for a number of years as president, and at times was minister at the Roanoke Memorial Chapel. A member of the North Carolina Historical Commission, he contributed to various periodicals, including the *North Carolina Booklet*. In the Diocese of East Carolina he served as president of the Convention and of the Standing Committee, examining chaplain, delegate to the provincial Convention (1890–1929), trustee of St. Mary's College, and trustee of the University of the South, which awarded him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Horticulture, fishing, and boating were Dr. Drane's hobbies. A contemporary noted, "So diversified have been his interests that sportsmen have found a bond of union with him in his keen pleasure in fishing and boating, and in past years his sailing craft was a familiar sight on the waters of Edenton Bay." Family members recall times when Dr. Drane, expected to be at work in the old Rector's Study, could more easily be found building one of his boats. His energies were directed toward additional interests, including automobiles. In 1921 Dr. Drane acquired one of the first cars to appear in Edenton, and at the age of seventy he learned how to drive.

The Bells of Old St. Paul's

November 1926 · Dr. Drane's long ministry is celebrated with special services and a pageant.

On All Saint's Day, 1926, the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Drane's arrival at St. Paul's, the congregation organized special services and a pageant celebrating his long and distinguished ministry. So remarkable was the occasion that newspaper coverage was extensive, including an article in the *New York Times*, which described the seventy-five-year-old priest as "youthful and enthusiastic," his "snow-white hair, ... white beard and mustache" notwithstanding. The *Virginian Pilot* also reported the day's events:

"Golden Jubilee bells in the ivy-mantled tower of Old St. Paul's reached a new and solemnly joyful note today when they tolled a benediction for the Rev. Dr. Robert Brent Drane as that beloved veteran of the Episcopal Church gazed into the West and saw, with the dying sun, come the end of 50 years of service as rector of the historic parish, the oldest corporation in the State.
"Before him in solemn procession had just marched the memories of a lifetime. ... The venerable rector watched, almost overwhelmed, as the majestic pageantry unfolded itself. He was surrounded by nearly 5,000 persons, including two bishops and many of the State's clergy, who had come from far and near to do him homage. ..."

The Bells of Old St. Paul's, Episode IV : "The Bell of Independence · The Signing of the Test by the Vestry of St. Paul's, June 19, 1776"

COURTESY OF FRANCES DRANE INGLIS

The climax of the celebration was reached late in the afternoon in a beautifully staged pageant, *The Bells of Old St. Paul's,* written for the occasion by Theodosia Wales Glenn of Atlanta, Georgia, in which the assembled crowds saw the history of the parish unfold before them.

The devotion Dr. Drane inspired in his congregation is further shown by a tribute paid him by a member of St. Paul's, Mrs. Charles P. Wales, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the beginning of the construction of St. Paul's church, May 13, 1936:

> "As a theologian and scholar he ranks high, as churchman he is unswerving in his loyalty to the doctrine and articles of the faith... Combined with these enduring qualities he possesses a rare charm which has made itself felt in all of his social contacts and which illumines with grace and beauty the common walks of life... The predominating traits of his character are fidelity to duty and a consecrated and consistent living up to his Christian principles. His is the simple, unaffected, genuine life of one who walks with God."

1939 · Edenton mourns the death of a beloved rector.

Dr. Drane retired from St. Paul's in 1932, and died six years later, on October 31, 1939, the day before the sixty-third anniversary of his coming to St. Paul's. The *Chowan Herald* reported his death: "Although not entirely unexpected, the entire town of Edenton and the adjacent countryside was inexpressably shocked to learn of the death of North Carolina's oldest and best loved prelate, who, for 56 years ministered with zealousness and devotion as rector of Old St. Paul's." He is buried in the churchyard beside his wife.

Dr. Drane's portrait, commissioned by members of St. Paul's, hangs above the mantel in the Guild Room of the parish house. A tablet in his memory may be seen inside the church.

AS THE 20TH CENTURY CONTINUES

1933 · The church and churchyard are damaged by a hurricane.

On September 15, 1933, Edenton was struck by a terrible hurricane which left devastation in its wake. A resident of the time wrote sadly of the destruction, particularly in the churchyard:

> "The churchyard is absolutely wrecked. That has suffered more than any other place. One big oak crashed down on the north side,

breaking out two windows. Another fairly demolished Mr. Ashby's little study. All the big cedars fell—those beautiful arbor-vitaes—everything at the back of the church. ... the magnolias withstood the storm. ... The thing that distresses us most is that picturesque old Edenton is gone. We will all plant and work, and plan, but the quaintness that we've enjoyed can never be restored..."

Post-hurricane tree damage to the Rector's Study

COURTESY OF ELIZABETH VANN MOORE

The Great Fire of 1949

In 1947 careful examination of the church revealed dangerous termite damage, loose plaster, and old wooden shingles in bad condition under the later slate roof. The vestry immediately began a search for a competent restoration architect, and for other churches which had experienced the same problems and could advise them.

1948· *Preparations are made to restore the church.*

In 1948 detailed architectural studies and drawings of the church were made, and work was begun. The chancel was stripped of its woodwork and furnishings, and the stained glass window and all the wall tablets in the church were removed and stored. Also removed were the pews and flooring William Nichols had installed in 1807, and the doors and windows. The only thing which could not be removed was the organ. Archaeological examination located eight graves under the church, three with stones over them, and enough colonial floor

tiles to be reproduced for the restored church. Only the brick walls and structural timbers supporting the galleries and roof were left.

1949 · *"Condemned" The Reverend Harold W. Gilmer surveys the scene of the fire.*

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

The fire broke out during the lunch hour on June 1, 1949, a hot windy day when roof timbers were being creosoted to stop further rot. It destroyed everything that would burn—all the framing for galleries, roof, and spire. Only the walls were left. The *Chowan Herald* reported that people "wept in the streets as they saw the church burn."

far left: Charred roof beams and missing spire

COURTESY OF ANNE BRUCE

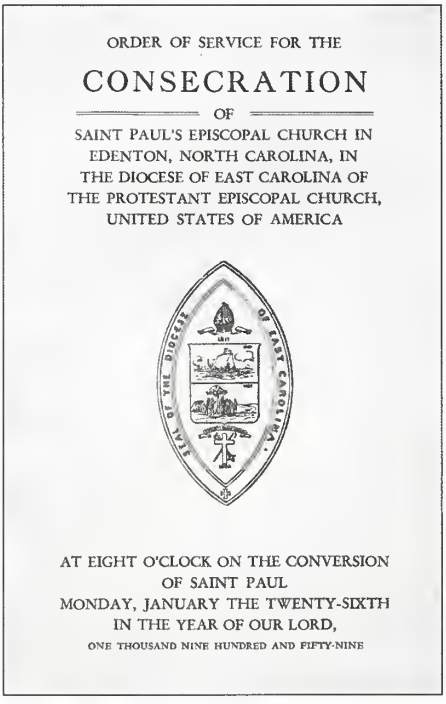
left: The burned-out chancel from the churchyard

COURTESY OF ELIZABETH VANN MOORE

Fortunately, because of the architectural studies already made, the church could be reproduced accurately in every detail.

The architect first appointed to carry out the reconstruction did not approve of rebuilding the galleries and therefore resigned when the congregation insisted on keeping them; not only did the galleries provide much-needed seating, but historical precedent dictated that they remain. The project was completed by an equally experienced architect. Only the four little urns William Nichols had added to the corners of the bell tower in 1806 were omitted.

Bishop Wright came for the first service in the restored church, on June 1, 1950, and—when the last penny of debt had been paid—for its reconsecration in 1959 on the day after St. Paul's Day, January 26, 1959. Three other bishops took part in that service: Bishop Gunn of the diocese of Southern Virginia, Bishop Penick of the diocese of North Carolina, and Bishop Henry of the diocese of Western Carolina.


ORDER OF SERVICE FOR THE

CONSECRATION

OF

SAINT PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA, IN THE DIOCESE OF EAST CAROLINA OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK ON THE CONVERSION OF SAINT PAUL
MONDAY, JANUARY THE TWENTY-SIXTH
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD,
ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINE

Cover of the Order of Service for the Reconsecration, 1959

COURTESY OF FRANCES DRANE INGLIS

The church was filled for the ceremony with Episcopalians from Eastern Carolina and Virginia. The proceedings started with three heavy knocks on the outer panel of the church doors, delivered by the bishop with his pastoral staff. They ended with the resounding strains of *Pomp and Circumstance.*

1962 · The 79th Diocesan Convention is held at St. Paul's.

Three years later, the 79th annual convention of the Diocese of East Carolina was held at St. Paul's on June 16 and 17. That same month, on June 27, 1962, the congregation of St. Paul's attended the ordination to the diaconate by Bishop Wright of a member, Michael T. Malone, one of three young members of St. Paul's called to the ministry in the space of five years. The others were Thomas C. Kehayes, ordained at

Participants in the 1962 Diocesan Convention, held at St. Paul's · Bishop Wright in the center of the front row

COURTESY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

St. Paul's in 1965 on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and Keith J. Reeve, ordained to the deaconate at St. John's, Fayetteville in June 1967.

CLERGYMEN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY the Diocese of East Carolina was served by seven bishops: Alfred A. Watson (1884–1903), Robert Strange (1904–14), Thomas C. Darst (1915–45), Thomas H. Wright (1945–73), Hunley Elebash (1973–83), B. Sidney Sanders (1983–97), and Clifton Daniel the present bishop, who was called to the post in 1997.

In the seven decades between Dr. Drane's retirement in 1932 and the 300th anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's parish, nine rectors served the congregation of St. Paul's. As well as the extraordinary events already described, this period witnessed the steady growth of the congregation, the increasing inclusion of children in parish life, a

growing awareness of the history of the church and churchyard, the expansion of the parish house to include a nursery, children's chapel, and two classrooms, and the introduction of the new Prayer Book.

The rector who followed Dr. Drane, Charles A. Ashby, was called to St. Paul's in 1933 at the recommendation of Bishop Darst, who had known him since boyhood. Despite bad health and his wife's paralysis, Mr. Ashby delivered to his congregation excellent and practical sermons. He was also responsible for initiating the effort to establish Pettigrew Park, a state historic park in Washington County, North Carolina in memory of General James Johnston Pettigrew, grandson of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew.

In 1942 Mr. Ashby was succeeded by the Reverend Lewis F. Schenck, rector for less than a year before being called to serve a larger parish. Harold W. Gilmer came to the parish as rector in 1944. He received his theological training at Dubose Memorial Church Training School, Sewanee, Tennessee, a school for men entering the ministry long after the age for seminary education. Mr. Gilmer was noted for the beauty of his reading of the Bible and the Prayer Book services. He retired in 1950.

1954 · *The churchyard is praised for its historically accurate preservation.*

The visit of the landscape architect Charles Freeman Gillette (1886–1969) of Richmond, Virginia, was one of the highlights of the rectorship of Gordon D. Bennett, who served St. Paul's from 1950 to 1956. Mr. Bennett's interest in the grounds at St. Paul's led the churchyard committee to seek professional assistance. Nationally recognized as one of the premier specialists in the restoration and re-creation of historic gardens, Mr. Gillette visited Edenton in 1954. After a double inspection of the churchyard, once by himself and then with members of the committee, Mr. Gillette congratulated the parish on maintaining the churchyard as a cemetery, not a garden, and preserving it in an historically correct manner. He refused compensation for his advice.

George B. Holmes succeeded Mr. Bennett in 1957. Born in Norfolk, Virginia, and educated at William and Mary, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Mr. Holmes served in three parishes in Virginia (Mecklenburg County Courthouse,

Pulaski, and Roanoke) and four in North Carolina (St. Paul's, Edenton; Wadesboro; Ansonville; and Greensboro). At St. Paul's he copied many of the epitaphs on gravestones in the churchyard, and compiled in a booklet a number of stories about the history and legends of the parish.

St. Paul's Churchyard

PHOTO: ELIZABETH MATHESON
COURTESY OF N.C. DIVISION OF ARCHIVES & HISTORY

Pastoral visiting was among the strengths of the priest who followed Mr. Holmes. Raymond W. Storie was a well-loved rector, known for his quick wit and generous sense of humor. During his tenure Mr. Storie helped the members of St. Paul's make the transition from use of the 1928 Prayer Book to Rite II of 1979. He led the church with great strength of character, and the congregation of St. Paul's grew during his ministry. A native of Florida, Mr. Storie served St. Paul's from 1974 until his sudden death in 1983.

1979 · *A new Prayer Book is introduced.*

The Reverend John W. Gibson came to St. Paul's in 1984, after serving congregations in Stamford, Connecticut; Youngstown, New York; and Greater Lockport, New York. Born in Providence, Rhode Island, and a graduate of Brown University, Mr. Gibson received a Master of Divinity degree from Yale in 1974. He is remembered for his

gift of teaching, especially his Wednesday night classes on the Holy Spirit. He left Edenton in 1989 and is now rector of the Church of the Holy Cross in Raleigh, North Carolina.

The Reverend Russell L. Johnson followed in 1991. A graduate of the Naval Academy, Mr. Johnson had a distinguished career as pilot. He earned a Master of Divinity degree from the University of the South at Sewanee in 1982. Before coming to St. Paul's, Mr. Johnson served as assistant rector of St. John's Church in Wilmington, North Carolina, and as rector of Trinity Church, Pinopolis, South Carolina, and of Trinity Church, Lumberton, North Carolina. In 1994, under his guidance, St. Paul's embarked upon the Traditions of Faith campaign to improve the parish facilities, which included the renovation and enlargement of the parish house, expansion of the parish hall, and renovation of the church choir loft. Mr. Johnson left in 1997 and the church was served by the Reverend John C. Rivers as interim priest until the incumbent rector arrived.

1994 · The "Traditions of Faith" campaign to improve parish facilities begins.

MOVING FORWARD

THE REVEREND THOMAS M. RICKENBAKER, born in Cheyenne, Wyoming, is a graduate of the University of South Carolina and the Virginia Theological Seminary, where he received the degree of Master of Divinity in 1983. Before coming to St. Paul's, Mr. Rickenbaker served in Spartanburg, South Carolina, as assistant at St. Christopher's Church and founder and vicar of St. Margaret's. His focus at St. Paul's is on outreach, especially encouraging efforts in the mission field. Mr. Rickenbaker serves as chaplain to the Town of Edenton Police Department and the County Sheriff's Department.

He is helped in his ministry by the Reverend Alfonso A. Narvaez. Mr. Narvaez was born in New York City to parents who came to this country from Puerto Rico in 1919. Reared as a Roman Catholic, he graduated from Hunter College in 1962, and gained an M.A. in Journalism from Columbia University in 1964. For twenty-three years he served

as a reporter for the *New York Times*. His experiences led him back to a calling he had felt since boyhood, and he enrolled in the Instituto Pastoral Hispano, a special curriculum for aspiring priests, sponsored by four dioceses and held at St. John the Divine in New York. He was ordained priest in 1986. After service in churches in New Jersey and Texas, "Father Al" came to St. Paul's in 1999, where his focus is on outreach programs developed particularly to serve the needs of Hispanic families in this country and in Latin America.

1999 · *A new organ is donated to St. Paul's.*

In 1999 music at St. Paul's was significantly improved when Alice Cason Lineberger and her daughters, Alice, Elizabeth, and Cason, gave the church an organ designed especially for the space. The two-manual *Le Tourneau* with a midi-synthesizer for special effects was built in Canada. Organist Rosalind MacEnulty played it for services in September that year, and on October 31st the dedicatory concert was given by Ben Hutto.

St. Paul's flourishes in the 21st century.

Today St. Paul's Episcopal Church consists of more than 200 families and almost 450 active members. It has one of the largest youth programs in the Diocese of East Carolina, serving more than 100 children between the ages of one and seventeen. The young members are involved with mission and outreach efforts locally, in Appalachia, and in overseas missions. An excellent Christian education program serves the needs of both children and adults.

Outreach programs are particularly important in the life of St. Paul's. Members serve the local community by participating in several projects devoted to the welfare of the disadvantaged, such as Habitat for Humanity, Edenton Emergency Aid, and the Edenton-Chowan Food Pantry, which the vestry started in 1983. Further afield, the parish sponsors a seminarian each summer as well as mission work in Belize, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, and Uganda. Each week as the congregation leaves the church they are reminded of the parish's committment to outreach, by a sign placed prominently at the churchyard gate:

"You are now entering the mission field. Go forth to serve the Lord!"

TRICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

2001 · 300*th anniversary plans are made.*

AS THE THREE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY of the founding of St Paul's parish approached, a committee was formed to plan events for the year of the anniversary celebration. On September 20, 2001, the Tricentennial Committee adopted the following Mission Statement:

> "Through the observation and celebration of the 300 years in the life of St. Paul's Parish, we seek to deepen our faith in God, to strengthen our life together, and to reach out to others. Our observation and celebration will include four areas:
>
> "WORSHIPING: Our focus remains on God, but by worshiping using four earlier prayer books we may become more open to the richness of our present prayer book.
>
> "GATHERING: By gathering four times during the year to hear our story, and by inviting those who themselves or whose families have had a significant role in our history, we may become more aware of who we are as a congregational family, and deepen our commitment to love God and one another.
>
> "LEARNING: By regular publication of episodes in our history, and by development of a new informational brochure about our church, we may learn how changing times and evolving theology have made us what we are today. May this help us to grow in our pilgrimage of seeking to be faithful to Christ.
>
> "PROMOTING STEWARDSHIP: By efforts in all ways to contribute to our church life and now to seek to preserve the old Rector's Study, we may make our church a most welcoming place for worship and a place that is even more useful to parish life."

Worship

During the course of the tricentennial year, as part of the focus on historic worship, with the participation of distinguished visiting

priests, four special services were held. The first took place on Sunday, November 11, 2001, when the Reverend Robert C. Wisnewski, Jr., rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Montgomery, Alabama, assisted with a service in accordance with the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

Special programs are presented throughout the tricentennial year.

On Sunday, January 27, 2002, the Reverend Dr. Lyndon F. Harris, priest-in-charge of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, New York, joined members of St. Paul's some four months after the terrorists' attack on the World Trade Center. Dr. Harris assisted with a service conducted according to the post-Revolutionary Prayer Book of 1789.

The previous evening Dr. Harris served as guest speaker at a special program whose sponsors included St. Paul's. The purpose of the program was to present the story of the assistance of all kinds given to hundreds by volunteers at St. Paul's, New York, in the wake of the disaster. The event, attended by almost 1,000 individuals, raised over $5,000 for Father Harris's Discretionary Fund for relief to victims of the terrorists' strike.

A third special service, on Sunday, September, 22, 2002, featured the Reverend William Marshall Brock, rector of St. Michael's and All Angels' Episcopal Church, Savannah, Georgia, who assisted in the presentation of the service according to the 1892 Book of Common Prayer.

Homecoming

The culmination of the year-long celebration took place on November 10, 2002, when more than 350 members of St. Paul's and their guests attended a special "Homecoming" service. Present for the occasion were the the Right Reverend Clifton Daniel III, Bishop of the Diocese of East Carolina, who served as celebrant; the Reverend Thomas M. Rickenbaker, rector of St. Paul's, and his wife, Cindy; the Reverend Alfonso Narvaez, assistant to the rector, and his wife, Dabney; and the Reverend Charles Gill, rector of St. Andrew's, Nags Head, who presented the homily.

November 10, 2002 · A "Homecoming" service is held at St. Paul's.

Several former rectors of St. Paul's also attended. They included the Reverend John W. Gibson, 27th rector, and his wife, Lisa; the

Reverend John C. Rivers, former interim rector, and his wife Gloria; the Reverend Russell L. Johnson, 28th rector, and his wife, Judith; and Mrs. Pat Storie Polk, widow of Raymond W. Storie, 26th rector. Additional guests included the Reverend Canon Matthew Stockard, Canon to the Ordinary, and the Reverend Keith Reeve, sponsored in seminary by St. Paul's.

Following the service, which was conducted according to the liturgy of the 1928 Book of Common Prayer, participants enjoyed a picnic in the churchyard. Documentary photographs of St. Paul's and volumes of vestry minutes and other publications dating from the early eighteenth century were on display in the parish house

A Celebration of Faith

As part of the tricentennial celebration, a brochure about the history of the church was produced. In addition, the tricentennial effort made possible the publication of this book. With it, the congregation of St. Paul's celebrates the first three hundred years of this historic parish and looks forward to the future with a sense of continuing purpose and renewed faith.

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The Rector's Study and Churchyard

PHOTO : ELIZABETH MATHESON
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Many subscriptions and extra donations were received for *A Celebration of Faith: 300 Years in the Life of St. Paul's*. These contributions, like all profits from the sale of the book, will go toward funding the restoration of the old Rector's Study. The list of subscribers, current to June 19, 2003, was provided by the church office. Much effort has been made to ensure that the list is complete, with the hope that all subscribers are correctly represented. Their support is much appreciated.

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Don and Sherry Jordan, *with hope for*
the future of church and community, and in honor of
their godchildren, Graham and Hollis Elmore

Tilmon and Linda Keel, *in thanksgiving for*
their many blessings, and for their family and friends

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Fitzhugh Lee, Jr. and Sara Wood Wickham, *in loving memory of James E. and Anne Kemp Wood, George Collins and Frances Lamb Haughton Wood, and Louise Manning Badham Dixon, and in recognition of the generations of those who have served as members of the altar guild*

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Nancy Trask Wood, *with thanksgiving for children and grandchildren, and for St. Paul*

Nell Wood, *in memory of Charles H. Wood, Jr. and Charles, Sr. and Edith Bond Wood*

David and Angie Wright, *in memory of Dorothy and Walter Wright*

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In addition to the archival material held at the office of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, a great deal of source material about the history of St. Paul's can be found in the Archives of the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in London, England; in the office of the Diocese of East Carolina, Kinston; and at the Division of Archives and History of the NC Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh. Readers wishing to study the history of St. Paul's in greater depth are encouraged to consult these archives and to study the following material, from which the quoted matter in the book is taken.

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The Author

Anne Rouse Edwards is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Duke University and holds a master's degree in English from the University of Virginia. A long-time member of St. Paul's, she also serves as a member of the Edenton Historical Commission. Anne lives and writes with her golden retriever, "Khaki Rose," in Edenton's historic district.

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ANNE ROUSE EDWARDS is a member of St. Paul's. She has lived in Edenton for many years, and serves on the Edenton Historical Commission. Her text is based on original documents and secondary sources, and on research and resources provided by ELIZABETH VANN MOORE who acts as consultant to the project.

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Profits from the sale of the book are to be donated to the parish fund for the restoration of the old Rector's Study, built in the 1840s and located within in the grounds of St. Paul's.

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